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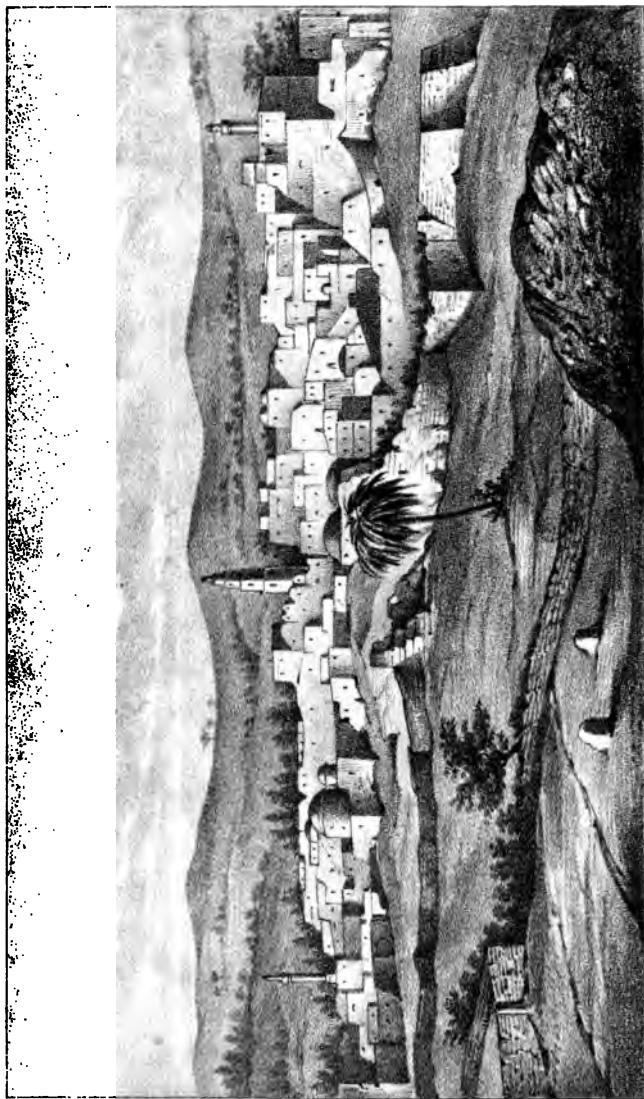


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NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC

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THE HOLY PLACES;

A NARRATIVE OF

TWO YEARS' RESIDENCE IN JERUSALEM AND PALESTINE.

BY

HANMER L. DUPUIS.

WITH

NOTES ON THE DISPERSED CANAANITE TRIBES.

BY

JOSEPH DUPUIS,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

LATE BRITISH VICE CONSUL IN TRIPOLI AND TUNIS.

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THE HOLY PLACES.



CHAPTER. I.

The Tombs of the Kings—The Question of their Identity Considered—The Sepulchres upon the brow of the Mount of Olives—The Tombs of the Judges—Numerous Excavations beneath and around the Holy City—Geographical position of Palestine—A Relic of the Crusades.

THE Kubour el Moulouk, tombs of the kings, are on the north-west side of Jerusalem, distant one mile. They are situated on a broad level plot of ground, the one supposed to have been enclosed within the city walls, but which is now the open country, and thickly covered with olive trees. This plain is unique, inasmuch as, besides being comparatively level, it is devoid

of intersection by valley or ravine, to separate it from the city, as in the case of the land on the side of Bethlehem, which forms the plain of Rephaim. The tombs stand among other relics of architecture, such as old walls, cisterns, &c.; many of these have been brought to light by the operations or convulsions of nature, the action of the rain alone having caused the ground to give way.

The absence of catacombs, or sepulchral vaults, which abound everywhere else, seems to confirm also, in a very satisfactory way, that this plain, or a great part of it, did actually in former ages constitute a large portion of the ancient city, not excepting perhaps that part of the district which contains the tombs of the kings.

Taking the tradition as it stands, that these excavations are the identical sepulchres of the kings of Judah, where all the sovereigns who ruled the land from David downwards were interred, although I am free to question the tradition, those tombs could surely have stood nowhere else except within the city walls, according to what is implied in the following text of scripture; vide 2. Chron. xxi. 20, xxiv. 25 xxvii. 9;

1 Kings xv. 24, 2 Kings xii. 21. Further comment on the subject would be superfluous ; hence it is left to the reader's judgment, whatever may be the force of my own conclusions. This, however, should also be observed, that it is only on this side that a clear and level space would admit enlargement of the city to an extent any way proportionate to what we must conceive to have been the case, if we accept the testimony of Josephus among others, who describe the density of its population, at intervals, especially during festivals and other religious observances.

It appears, moreover, that it was customary to bury kings, and probably also others of the royal blood, within their own cities. The sovereigns of Israel were interred in Samaria, and we are left at liberty to infer that as intermural sepulture in such instances prevailed amongst portions of the tribes, so also it may have prevailed with the other ; in which case the rights of sepulture were also performed upon the kings of Judah within their city walls.

As regards the tombs of the kings, I ought not to omit an observation which has some re-

ference to their identity as such. By the city of David, where the interments took place, we are given to understand was meant not the whole city of Jerusalem, but that single portion of it, built upon mount Zion, the citadel, in short, which formed an after conquest of King David—2 Chron. xxi. 20 ; 2 Kings xii. 21 ; consequently it is believed that we must look for the sepulchre of the kings of Judah somewhere approximate to, or upon, this mountain. It would therefore follow that the site assigned to the sepulchre of King David by the Moslems, is where it actually stands at this day, the correctness of these people being so far supported. In such case the place commonly designated the Tombs of the Kings, might have formed the burial vaults if not of some rich and distinguished family, as its decorations would denote, yet of remote branches of the royal household, and dignitaries of the Law, high in repute.

Over the entrance to the Tombs of the Kings is a façade, embellished with alternate clusters of grapes and garlands, cut in high relief on the stone. To enter these tombs one is obliged to

crawl, torch in hand, thus to advance through the first doorway. The chambers within that enclosure are four in number, each from eight to twelve feet square, having niches to receive the bodies, with a groove or channel traversing the centre lengthways, apparently for the passage of water used for washing the bodies, the usual purification employed when interment takes place among the Jews, as among the Moslems. The doors appear to have been constructed of massive white marble slabs, turning upon pivots, and in the solid piece; these pivots being fixed on two of the angles and received into sockets one above, the other below. These doors are now unhung, and but one of them only visible; the others, from lapse of ages, it is probable lie buried under the accumulated earth and rubbish.

Corresponding chambers appear also to have existed on the left of the entrance, but the avenue itself is so choked up with incumbrances, that it was impossible to satisfy curiosity on this point. Before the entrance to the tombs a quadrangular yard seems to have existed, roofed

over, but now fallen in, leaving the surface considerably below the level of the ground.

These tombs do not materially differ from many others to be met with in the environs of Jerusalem. It is worthy of remark that they are of simple structure, even where they do not belong to the primeval order.

The second class of excavations for the reception of the dead, of any magnitude, are the sepulchres upon the brow of the mount of Olives, known as the tombs of the prophets. They comprise two corridors, one adjoining to the other, in the form of a couple of semicircles, each with two rows of niches, excavated within the wall for the bodies, one above, and the other below its fellow.

Nothing is now to be seen in the interior ; but as may be supposed, all is void ; nevertheless, here also a short time ago, one body was discovered, and this in an apparent state of preservation, but which speedily crumbled into dust on being removed. Such then are the class of tombs which tradition assigns to the prophets of Israel.

About two miles westward of Jerusalem, on the road to Jaffa, are other ancient sepulchres of no very great extent, yet they deserve some mention from being generally pointed out to travellers. These go by the name of the Tombs of the Judges; but, by what authority this can be affirmed, I am at a loss to conjecture, unless from the fact that there is written over them, in modern style and character, "*Tombeau des juges.*" I have heard it asserted to have been so written by Chateaubriand, when on his visit to Palestine. Surely that celebrated author could not have accepted, as orthodox, any speculative words, and considered them on such grounds to be traditional, for there does not exist any tradition of the sort to my certain knowledge. I am inclined to think that the French inscription is a light effusion proceeding from some other less informed countryman of his, who was too ready to credit all that may have been told him by his dragoman or his cook.

The tomb contains but one chamber, about fourteen feet square, with niches, or receptacles for the bodies on all sides. On the right

hand as we enter, there is a stair case, said to lead to a similar chamber beneath, which it was impossible to descend from the accumulated rubbish that encumbered it.

The fact is, that the whole neighbourhood of Jerusalem is honey-combed out with the like tombs or excavations, as it was the custom of the Jews to inter their dead either in natural or in artificial vaults. These vaults, now tenantless, look like yawning caverns or catacombs in the valleys, and on the slopes of the hills. From being receptacles of the dead, they have become the abode of beasts of prey, which inhabit them at the present time. These tombs are most numerous in the valley of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom. Indeed were it possible to lay the neighbourhood and the Holy City bare, by cutting a section through some portion of it, I am inclined to the opinion, that these sections would exhibit a succession of cells, comparable to nothing that might exist elsewhere ; but rather resembling the cellular construction of the hornet's nest. Josephus also would seem to afford some testimony regarding the undermined condition of

the city, when he says, that the innovators amongst the Jews, who contributed so largely to the neutralization or prostration of the Jewish power, wished to conceal themselves below ground, until the Romans should withdraw their army, after the latter had captured and half destroyed the city, with the idea of issuing forth from these hiding places, and re-occupying the ruins of it. Jewish War, book VI, 7, 3, and IX, 4.

As things exist, the antiquarian lore of Palestine can consist but of gleanings from a surface which no one should deem to be devoid of interest. The history of every spot, inhabited by a race of people from whom we derive a knowledge of the true God, is a subject that warms the imagination, while it moves the best sympathies of the heart and understanding. Geographically, Palestine occupies an important position between the regions which border it on three sides, viz—the north, east, and south. Countries from which she could not have failed to imbibe, or adopt through compulsion, customs or institutions that might reconcile herself in her decline with neighbours of such power, as the case is now with Turkey.

How many are the nations that have walked in succession amidst the tombs of the defenders of the Temple. Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Egyptians, Romans, Saracens, Franks, Arabians, Moguls, Turks, and other Tartar races, conquerors out of number. Can it be conceived, therefore, that so many and such victorious nations should have passed away without leaving any traces behind that might fill up voids in history, that history above all others which absorbs the best of our sympathies. Can it be thought that in place of sculptured images or statues, no tablets with inscriptions are buried in that soil? Rather, I repeat, the chances are fair that the sun might be made to shine again upon matter, concealed by a collapsed surface, which should rival or excel the fruits of those labors on the Babylonian plains, whereof we read with avidity, and behold with so deep an interest in our national Museum.

It was during my residence in the country, that the flooring of a room adjoining to the tower of Hippicus fell in, and a vault hitherto unknown was discovered underneath, containing a store of the shafts of arrows. Opinions were

divided whether this depot had been made in very early times or belonged to the middle ages. The latter was the more general opinion, and so we pronounced it to be a military deposit for the armies of the Crusaders. These arrows, ready prepared for the head, may have been for the particular service of the garrison of the tower in which they were found; and from being made of deal wood, it was not unreasonable to conclude, that they must have been the weapons used by some northern and perhaps western nation, rather than shafts prepared by an Oriental people of the south, who invariably employ cane or jereid (the bough of the palm tree).

CHAPTER II.

Vegetation in the Neighbourhood of Jerusalem—The Past and Present of Palestine—Its Chief Productions.

THE sterility of this country, especially on the south and south-eastern sides of Jerusalem, has already been described. The most that can be said of the rest of the highland, as characteristic of that portion of the country, is, that in a general aspect the diversity of feature is great, and ranging between a rich mountain soil, fertile and gentle slopes and valleys, which may vie with

any that exist elsewhere ; to the rocky and stony heights, often precipitous, either destitute of verdure or clothed in a rank vegetation, intermixed with the taller classes of trees ; among which, the Olive, the Sycamore, the Juniper, the Oak, Larch, Kharoub, &c. would seem to predominate. If we did not know that the Egypt of our time, with its collapsed sands and its population of three to four millions, resembles but faintly the Egypt of the Pharoahs, and of the vast relics which remain of her grandeur, we might find it a difficult matter to reconcile to ourselves Palestine as it really is, with the fertile and beautiful Palestine described by the ancients. As to climate, which we might not be allowed to suppose had undergone any very material change, it is dry and sultry in the summer, to which the east and south-east winds contribute materially ; nor does the rain that falls in other seasons at all suffice for the moisture necessary to the free growth and permanent duration of plants ; the great unevenness of the land, and a powerful sun together, consuming rapidly the fall of rain, however great, whether by its

rapid descent to the parching plains below, or by absorption into the atmosphere.

Yet the soil is rich and fertile in many parts, although scanty on the hills ; and the fruits of the earth where they are cultivated, mostly consist of such as grow freely in the south of France, Italy, and Spain, yet not these productions alone. From the diversity of elevation which characterizes this country, the different degrees of temperature that prevail at short distances are thus to be accounted for, as also the different classes of vegetation, between what is now European by adoption and such as grow nearer to the Tropics. The vine, the mulberry, the apricot, the pomegranate, the peach, the melon, the banana, the orange, the apple, and prickly pear, the latter forming the hedges, besides all sorts of grain and pulse, are among those productions, which are either indigenous or congenial to the soil. The Jesamin, from which is extracted an oil of great repute in the East, called "Seridge;" and oil from the olive, are also among the articles which Palestine produces in the greatest abundance, as may be conceived

from the number of these trees, which are almost proverbially known to grow there in the greatest exuberance ; for the gift of the Lord of nature to the descendants of Jacob was properly the olive, whilst the palm was the inheritance of Esau and his posterity.

Nevertheless Palestine is looked upon as I have pronounced it to be, a barren land, in the aggregate, and strictly speaking it is so in comparison with other more favoured lands of equal extent of territory, where the inspiring dews of Heaven fall more copiously ; which are denied alas to Palestine, or restricted to such small quantities as are quite inadequate to the wants of the soil.

A great deal might be done for the improvement of the land, by increasing the number of cisterns and reservoirs, if scattered about the country on the lines which give current to the escaping waters, and if preserved for the supply of the agriculturist during the season of scarcity. As things exist, it claims to be repeated, the moisture is totally inadequate to the wants of the land, because it may be presumed that nine-tenths of the tribute afforded by the clouds passes off with

a rapidity common in a mountainous region, where those mountains, as in Palestine, happen to be of an indurated and stony texture, on or near the surface, and their watercourses steep and rapid.

In the days when Israel formed a nation, it may have been that the land of 'brooks and fountains'—features which are still traceable in the number of broken cisterns, dried-up fountains, and absorbed pools—derived its chief fertility from artificial means of conveying moisture to its fields, for relics of these things in scattered fragments, sufficient, however, to decipher these features of primeval vigour, abound on all sides.

The Orientals in general, and the Arabs in particular, are not prone to innovations, as it is scarcely needful to say; suffice it for their wants, that in treading the footsteps of their forefathers, the land should be prolific enough to yield subsistence, and some surplus over, to sweeten labour, and compensate them for the toil of cultivating it. It is not the Arab who adopts the word "improvement," in place of innovation: and from the rapidity of changes

among occidental nations even the sons of Ismael may not be ignorant, that what is a perfection one year or for a term among those who would direct and instruct them, is a thing forgotten, or eclipsed and rejected, at an after period, in favour of some other novelty, perhaps no less ephemeral. The means handed down by bygone generations of his race, primitive and natural, are those he adheres to. Otherwise were the works actually in existence put into a tolerable state of repair, they might still furnish the Fellaheen with that element for which their land thirsteth, and the call for which is the loudest in the unrelaxing, parching heats of summer.

Yet, it must not be supposed from their apparent indifference, that either Townsman or Bedwin is unconscious of the value of an element which, in their poetic effusion, they compare to gold.

The wilderness of Judea, or, as it is now called, of St. John, is pointed out at a place situated about eight miles to the south west of Jerusalem. But are we to understand this as being the spot where the ministry of the Baptist commenced? It is only called by St. Matthew iii. 1, the

wilderness of Judea; the other three Evangelists merely affirm that John was baptising near to Bethabara, Mark i. 5; Luke iii. 3; John i. 28 and x. 40. Now this village we know stood on the eastern banks of the Jordan; consequently we might be led to suppose that the wilderness in question occupied some site near the northern limits of the Dead Sea, adjacent to the spot which tradition has assigned to the mount of Temptation and that part of the plain of the Jordan near Jericho. But the expression of St. Luke iii. 3, and St. Matthew iii. 1, "and he *came* into all the country about Jordan," would seem to imply that the Baptist John was brought up *some where else*, and did not appear openly in his character as baptist until his ministry commenced; and then it was that "he came down into all the country about Jordan," where an adequacy of water existed for the baptismal function by immersion. So that he might have been located for nine and twenty years or thereabouts before his ministry commenced, where tradition denotes the spot to be, the memory of which clings to it by the name it yet bears, *i.e.*, The Wilderness of St. John.

The road to this wilderness is a very bad one, and very tortuous in its course, amidst contracted valleys, and stony ravines, the pathways of which were scarcely sufficient in some spots for two travellers to ride abreast ; for the mountain sides which render this pass formidable were very steep or precipitous. The path indeed has no soil, but as is too commonly the case in Palestine, it consists of the hard rock, solid and detached in masses, or in fragments, washed by the descending torrents from the upper land. Accustomed as the native animals are to such roads, it is observable that they pick their way out with the greatest nicety without stumbling, if the rider will trust entirely to their sagacity by giving them the free rein, and not tug and pull them in attempting to direct the animals themselves. I can affirm this, as my tenacity in wishing to manage my own animal nearly cost me dear.

After passing the celebrated Convent of the Cross, which is now used as a training college for Greek students, and which is situated in one of these vales amidst a luxuriant collection of olive trees, distant from Jerusalem about two

miles, we come suddenly upon the village of Ain Karim, where there is another Greek convent of some celebrity, the inhabitants of which village are mostly members of that church. A spring of excellent water is seated at the foot of the hill over which we travelled. A few miles beyond it brings us to the wilderness, which is but twelve miles, or four hours' ride, from Jerusalem, and here we alighted for refreshment.

There is a valley which forms part of the wilderness of St. John, broad in extent and deep, the sides of which are exceedingly steep, and the soil being loose the foot of the pedestrian is apt to slip. There is no culture or any artificial aid employed in this locality, but all is nature in her wild adornment; tree, shrub, and plant are free to break through the ground, to bud, blossom, mature, and decay, without notice, as without restraint; for although called a wilderness, this by no means implies sterility of soil and absence of vegetation, but the contrary. The Locust tree is here to be found producing the fruit known as the *Kharube*, a species of the Tamarind, but remarkably sweet when

dried. This fruit some have supposed to be the wild honey mentioned in Scripture as constituting the food of St. John. It is excellent of its kind, and is still used as an article of food in eastern countries, as well by the inhabitants as for the sustenance of their cattle, which are very fond of it. It would, however, seem to me more rational to take the original wild honey, in the sense of the true produce of the bee, for we must go greatly out of the way in adopting the idea of this fruit.

Although Palestine, taken as a whole, may not deserve the name of a land of flowers, yet it contains the bee, and wild honey is not a scarce commodity in its season if searched for in those kinds of wildernesses. These hoards the natives are in the habit of ferreting out, amidst the clefts and chasms of the rocks.

There is a rich profusion, however, of flowers in the wilderness, of which this vale forms a part, and among every variety, the red and yellow, *Gnaphalium*, or *Everlasting*, seem to eclipse the rest. Indeed, this place is celebrated for its yield, and resorted to for their collection.

A few yards below the road in the sides of the valley there is a small grotto, said to have been tenanted by St. John. This excavation bears the appearance of having been artificially constructed, as if hewn out of the rock ; and attached to it is a spring of very good water, near to which is a hollow also scooped out of the rock, not very unlike a bath. The two, it is said, afforded that frugal forerunner of Christ, shelter and water during his sojourn in the wilderness.

But I feel more inclined to think it may have been originally some old sepulchral vault, fallen into decay, with the spring of water for ablutions, the ritual necessary prior to interment. Yet that St. John should have chosen the abode of the dead for his dwelling, such mode of burial being common, is neither likely, nor would it have been lawful. In this idea I am not singular, for I believe it was shared by others of my party.

In the same neighbourhood stands the village of Bethel, now called Beatier, remarkable in the annals of history, as being the place where the Jews mustered under Barchochebas (son of a star)

for the last and ineffectual struggle they made against the Romans. The true star of Jacob long risen, had set again upon Israel, leaving darkness with the benighted. This person the Jews now stigmatize as an impostor, and contumeliously name him Barchisvas (the son of a lie).

The discovery of this place, long unknown, or confounded with its namesake on the north of Jerusalem, is due to the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Williams. The ruins are few and not much scattered, but the traces are not sufficient to enable us to form any idea of the extent of the old city. Why this place should have been chosen in preference to any other better adapted for such a struggle, can be sought for in conjecture only. To me it appears that Jerusalem, having its walls dismantled, or already laid level with the ground, none of its mounds, or dilapidations could any longer serve for breast work against the Romans, and that Bethel, then a partly fortified city, not of the easiest approach, was the last hope left to the Jews, however forlorn. The question remains unsolved why the Romans, in the course of this long siege, should

have left such a stronghold. Certain it is, that the unhappy Jews in such extremity, deluded and deluding, betraying and betrayed, still confiding, still resolved, if unable to destroy their foes, at least to die in the defence of their nationality and their law ; animated at least by despair, and a thirst for revenge, they followed the standard of that impostor, while expecting a personal manifestation of Divine interposition, to deliver them from the yoke of the Romans.

The ruins of Beatier occupy the side of a hill commanding the valley beneath. There are two places where the eye can detect the foundation of some more massive building than the rest, as if towers had once stood there. The few inhabitants, however, of the place were unable to give any account of it, and appeared quite ignorant of matters known to us in relation to it. They admitted its having been a large town, and more they knew not. Here then it was where the last drop of the phial was poured out, and Israel received that final withering stroke, which consigned an outcast people to slavery among nations they despised or detested ; and hence-

forward, such of the survivors who escaped bondage, became wanderers upon the face of the earth, as we behold them obedient to other laws, while clinging but to interpretations or commentaries of their own, hoping and expecting a day of grace.

Malhat, or the Saline, is the next place in this neighbourhood deserving notice; but it is somewhat irreconcilable with the name it bears, as there is a spring of sweet water near it. This spot is known among the Europeans of Jerusalem as the valley of the Roses, from the immense number of rose bushes growing spontaneously, as well as others which are a little indebted to culture. The country people gather these flowers for sale in the market of the city, yet any one is at liberty to go, and for a few piasters he may have as many as he can carry away.

In the spring of the year, the whole surface of this valley is literally covered with them, for then they are in full bloom, and the air laden with their rich perfume. These are both white and red; the former without scent. The leaves of the flowers are used for making rose water, as well as the otto of roses—an article indispen-

sable alike to an Oriental lady, as to our fairer complexioned countrywomen.

It would be well worth the while for some of our dealers in the sweet scents to learn the trade in perfection from the Orientals. I do not know but that the art may be carried to a greater perfection by them than in western countries. The Bazaars of the east are stored perhaps with a greater variety of these perfumes than can be expected in colder and more humid climates.

The oil extracted from the Arabian or double Jesamine, called by the Arabs, El Fell, is the strongest and decidedly the sweetest of all scents known to me; superior by far to the otto of roses both in odour and in price. Besides the separate qualities of musk, such as the genuine and the substitutes from the gazelle, the civet cat, &c., orange and citron waters are manufactured in large quantities for the use of the harem, as well as for household or culinary purposes. Balsam, myrrh, spikenard, wild thyme, and others extracted from every odoriferous flower or plant, are classes too numerous to mention if known to me.

CHAPTER III.

The Village of Grapes—Abo Ghosh—The Authority of the Sultan in Palestine—The Arab's Horror of the Conscription—Exemptions from Military Service—Colounia—Safety of Women on the Battle Field—A Supperless Night—The Road from Jaffa to Jerusalem—The Village of Saris—Ramleh—Convent Hospitality ; its Origin and Confirmation by Treaty—The Tower of the Forty Martyrs—The Village of Lidd—The Plain of Sharon—Agriculture in Palestine—Snakes and Scorpions—The Scene of a Historical Tragedy—The Suburbs of Jaffa.

THE desire to make myself better acquainted with the north-western provinces, and my health requiring a change of air and exercise to restore it, after many attacks of ague—a disease which more or less affects every one, not in Palestine alone, but in most of the countries adjacent—led me to carry this desire into effect in the autumn of 1853. Accompanied by

Mr. Rogers, now the British Vice Consul of Caifa, (to which station he has been but recently appointed, and which includes also the towns of Tiberias, Saphat, and Nazareth) we left Jerusalem "one fine morning," taking the route to Jaffa on the sea coast, the direction being to the northward of west.

Our party, including the escort, consisted but of three persons. It was our intention to pass the night at the village of Kireeh-el-Aneb (village of grapes) but better known as Abo Ghosh, from the name of its chief, which signifies the father of deceit.

This village is situated about midway between Ramlah and Jerusalem, amidst the mountains of Judah; and although it is of no great importance in these days, excepting as a convenient resting place for the refreshment of travellers on their journey from the Sahel, or the sea coast, to Jerusalem, yet it was the inhabitants of this village who in former days laid an assessment upon every traveller and Christian pilgrim who visited the holy shrines, doubtless not excepting the hermit Peter, whose preaching caused more

direful catastrophes and greater desolation than the world had ever been afflicted with, if we may credit statements which shew, that from first to last the Crusades, reckoning nine within the space of two centuries, swallowed up the lives of nearly 200 millions of human beings by the sword, pestilence, famine, the elements, and miseries of all sorts, or about 1,000,000 per annum.

It is worthy of remark that this village attempted by usurpation of late years to regain some of the influence it had lost in the lapse of ages, offering further confirmation, although in miniature, of what the genius and energy of a single bold spirit is able to effect either for his own glory, or the happiness or misery of others under his control; for in this case the village is the chief, and the chief is the village, as its name attests.

Abo Ghosh, the Sheich, the agitator, risen to that grade from small beginnings, and inheriting, it is said, a tact for intrigue, or, in milder words, a power to discriminate and a resolution to profit by political influence and events as they might fluctuate, contrived from such comparative

obscurity, by a gradual process, to seat himself even in the pashalic of Samaria, through a combined course of military display, and diplomatic negotiations both in Palestine and with the Divan at Constantinople.

It was about the time we commenced this journey that the Sultan's regular troops had been withdrawn from Jerusalem, for the rendezvous of the Asiatic contingents at Scutari, on the outbreak of the present war. The Bashbazooks, or irregular volunteers, had been left in garrison at Jerusalem, to supply this vacancy ; hence the opportunity offered for a bold stroke, and that opportunity did not pass unheeded.

The Sheichs of tribes, and among them Abo Ghosh, seized the moment for animating their followers, and soon many of the tribes of peasantry rose up in arms, not indeed against the government, ostensibly at least, but amongst each other, as it were, *i. e.*, it became a struggle for power and influence between parties opposed on the remembrance of some ancient feud ; as too common in a country where each tribe maintains a sort of feudal chieftainship, and never forgets

either past injuries or present grievances; the former being perhaps but a tradition of by-gone ages.

The passions of the people thus unchained, and the Bashbazooks incompetent, or perhaps little disposed to consider any man an enemy besides the 'Moscov,' the Russian, against whom he was on his way to meet in open field, these turbulent chieftains kept up a desultory war, tribe against tribe, and village against village, during part of the summer and autumn of that year. So that more or less the whole country was in commotion, Jerusalem excepted, which was comparatively tranquil. The Arabs also knew that it was not a business to engage the attention of other than a paid army. Abo Ghosh, who at this time courted the favour of the weak and impotent Pasha, whilst Lahhaame, another Sheich, the opponent of the former, entered the list, and, in order to strengthen his faction, formed an alliance with a Bedwin tribe, who, as natural to conceive, are never averse to a campaign in the fertile lands either of Palestine or elsewhere. This auxiliary force rendered him more than a

match for his opponent, Abo Ghosh, who now had recourse to more pacific measures ; and eventually, when a new garrison of the regular troops came to replace the old one within the walls of the Holy City, tranquillity was in a measure restored.

The Bedwin tribe which had been called in, during the commotions occupied Bethlehem, but as a chill was produced by the advance of the Sultan's troops, which affected the alliance, they speedily dispersed on witnessing that the signs of the times were pacific again, and consequently threatening to themselves as strangers whose sole object was booty. The policy of Abo Ghosh was a gain to him in influence.

I may be permitted, however, to observe in this place, that at any period, the authority of the Sultan in Palestine is very limited ; nay, at times it is but a shadow of power, and can scarcely be said to extend further from the walls of Jerusalem and other garrisons, than the range of the cannon. Beyond such limit, the jurisdiction of Pashas and other officers in trust under the Porte, is usually sustained either by alliances and attachments, which create a unity

of interest with certain tribes, or recourse is had to flying camps, and cannon, which are formidable enough in general to command respect for a period ; for the Sultan or his representatives in Jerusalem, often experience much difficulty in collecting the lawful tribute, or tithe, which should be but a tenth of the increase of the production of the earth if lawfully assessed. This tribute on the crops, cattle, &c., is, or should be, also paid in kind. Besides this assessment, contingencies of men are called for whenever it is needful to enforce the conscription. The Arab, above all men, has a sort of horror at the restraint upon his freedom of action, which servitude among the Nizzam or regular troops implies, nothing loath as he is to fight the Moscov infidel in his own way. His abhorrence, above all, is the offspring of the drill, the tight trowsers, and a costume and accoutrement which he considers both unmanly, and inefficacious ; hence, it follows that he despises military restrictions of the European order, and when enlisted deserts to his village again whenever opportunity favours him.

It may be superfluous to observe that the

Moslems alone are eligible to the ranks, and of these the army is exclusively composed. The Jew is quite exempt from military service; the idea of employing him as a combatant would seem an absurdity to the Moslem; and as to the Christian subjects of the Porte, the state would feel ill at ease in confiding arms to their hands. Nor is there room to wonder at the line of demarcation which regulates the policy of the state in these matters, seeing as we do, that, under the order of things so long established in Turkey and its dependencies, the Moslem could scarcely depend upon support from a Christian of the Greek church. This principle, no doubt, is the offspring of a feeling which arises from a fixed notion among the Moslems in general, of the impolicy of changing the law concerning tributaries, as established by the Koran, which enjoins that the subject or tributary not being of the faith of Islam, shall pay a capitation tax in lieu of rendering personal service to the state, unless in the civil departments.

Much speculation existed about the time of my departure from the country, on a report

which prevailed, either that this obnoxious tax, mild indeed and only obnoxious from the name of capitation, would be softened down in character or changed to something less grating to the ear in name, from the tenor of a firman which was lately issued from the Porte on the commencement of this war.

After having passed the village of Lifta, the same that gave Ibrahim Pasha so much trouble to reduce to subjection during his occupation of the country, and another village called Colounia, which the reader will at once recognize to be of Roman origin, we reposed awhile amidst the agreeable plantations that surround it. The situation of this latter village is indeed such as to justify the belief that it would have been selected by the Romans to form a fortified post, whereof so many examples exist in the colonies held by Rome, both in Asia and Africa. All that can be said of Colounia in these days is, that its environs are clothed in rich foliage, and altogether these form shady retreats amidst orange groves in the valley wherein this village stands. We next came to the village of Yalu, which is seated upon

the apex of a hill, and at a little distance beyond it reached Abo Ghosh, at about nine o'clock at night, having been six hours on the road. To our great disappointment, we found the village entirely deserted by its inhabitants ; with the exception of a few aged women and children, or men incapable of bearing arms ; all the rest of the population, not excepting the females, had gone to the war. We could distinctly hear the battle cry of the male sex, blended with the screaming of the women, who kept cheering on their husbands and brothers to the fight, whilst occasionally parties were to be seen carrying off their wounded ; and as the women incur little risk, from the fact that it is infamous to wound or injure the sex, hence their greater activity in the field. Among all the tribes of Arabs, it is considered a most disgraceful, or ignominious act for a man even to wound a woman by accident ; hence the value of a fair protectress may be judged from this estimation of their persons. In fact, of all the shields that were ever contrived for covering the body of the warrior, none were ever half so effective as this shield of the sons of Ismael, and

independently of the vigilance of the female herself in war, the male knows how, and when to put its service occasionally to the test in sheltering his person from the bullets of his foes.

The tactics of the Arabs in war favor a system of ambuscade, surprise, and desultory fighting in the field ; such are his favorite strategies, and during the conflict they seek what cover they can find—rock, bush, or tree, and so engage in detached parties, whilst the women cheer them with the Zaghreet, breathed in those shrill musical intonations which delight the Arab's heart, and rouse his full energies. The women then are of an indispensable necessity in Arab warfare, for these supply the stead of drum or trumpet, hospital, commissariat, and shield.

The peasantry invariably use the musket with flint lock, but the Bedwin is armed with an immense lance, and adorned as he generally is with charms and plumes of ostrich feathers, he looks as formidable as he really is on the open plain when well mounted ; and so expert is he with his weapon, that he may well vaunt his ability and

strength to prove it on the Cossack Gour or Kaffer.

Thus disappointed in hopes of refreshment for ourselves, and provender for our horses, we were obliged to pass the night supperless, with the exception of a small cup of coffee and pipes, which the hospitality of these people would not suffer us to depart without; and our horses fared very little better than ourselves. Having made a good fire we disposed ourselves as well as we could to rest under the open canopy of heaven.

There is nothing remarkable in the aspect of this village, it differs but little from others of its class. There is an old ruin which is said to have been at one period a Christian church, dedicated to St. Jerome, but it would be a difficult matter to decipher anything from these fragments. The village is surrounded by vineyards, fruit trees, and olive plantations; but its situation is by no means a very pleasant or inviting one.

We were roused in the midst of our slumbers by our janisary, who insisted upon his seeing the "Figer," or dawn-star; on consulting our

watches, however, we found it to be but one o'clock. This illusion arose, as we afterwards learnt, from his squeamish fears, concerning the prudence of exposing ourselves in such a manner in an unsettled country. We took his counsel, however, and left the village of Abo Ghosh at this early hour, without regret, and continued our downward course towards Ramleh in utter darkness, there being no moon at the time. About two thirds of the road from Jerusalem to Ramleh winds amidst the hills of Judah, which distinguish the highlands whereon Jerusalem stands from the plains of Sharon, or the low lands, which the Arabs name "Sahel," or levels.

The road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, which is the one usually taken by the western pilgrims, as well as by those travellers whose leisure or pleasure induce them to visit the Holy Land (Jaffa being the natural sea port of Jerusalem), is replete with interest, at least to the mind given to reflection on the past; for besides what may be gleaned from ancient authors, a store of legends fill the minds and form the conversa-

tions of the natives of the villages, who blend these tales with traditionary accounts as wild as they are marvellous.

To escape the heat of the sun, although the state of the country did not indeed render night travelling the most prudent course, we gave a preference to it, for to us the country was known. But we do not recommend such course to other travellers, for it would probably be attended with the loss of many things of interest in addition to the picturesque beauties of the scenery generally.

Many of the villages are surrounded by thick shrubbery, which grows in profusion, lining the pathway for some distance on both sides. The hills, which in proportion to their surface are thinly peopled, are much infested by inferior beasts of prey, such as the fox, jackal, &c., and their cries together with the incessant chirping of the cricket, were the only interruption to the reigning stillness of the night.

Trusting much to the sagacity of our horses, or their keener perception of the path and of its obstructions in the obscurity of the night, we

wended our way, and reached the village of Saris. This village is situated on the side of a ravine, which renders it visible but on the sudden in approaching from the east. It is embosomed in a grove of olive trees, that *sine qua non* of the land of promise. Our next stage brought us to the village of Latroon, where the salutation we received on arriving was the snapping of the Arab curs, at that early hour. The dogs here appear in the character of the proprietors or at least trustees of the property, and well do they exert their vigilance in the trust, as their incessant clamour and threatening gestures betoken; so that if this village really derived its appellation from the barking race of quadrupeds, as it might seem from its name, then its reputation was fairly earned.

To free ourselves from the dogs by resuming our descent to the plains in search of better fortune was the wiser resolve, although, such is the force of habit, that it put our heroism to the test, on foregoing that necessary of Oriental life—the stirrup cup of coffee. We pushed forward, however, at as good a pace as our weary

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hungry animals, manifestly as disappointed as ourselves, could attain to.

At early dawn we entered the village of Kubab, having, in this ride, descended from the highlands to the plains below ; for Kubab is seated nearly at the base of the hills which were the westernmost boundary of the allotment bestowed upon Judah. From hence the eye embraces an extensive horizon,affording a sweeping glance across the plain of Sharon ; strictly speaking the settled or beaten path from Jerusalem, in this direction, may be said to terminate at Kubab, for the broad space afforded by the plain furnishes a variety of horse and camel tracks at the choice of the traveller to select from.

The village in question really merits but the name of hamlet, for it scarcely contains more than twenty or thirty mud built huts with a proportionate population. In the distance the eye can scan the minarets and houses of the more important village of Ramleh, to which we pushed on at once at a scampering rate across the plain. Burreyeh was the next village we passed, and as its name signifies ‘ desert,’ so it is

open to the desert itself and to all the region southward. This part of the road is not held in very high repute, or considered the safest among the highways of Palestine, owing to the ingress it gives to the Bedwin tribes, who penetrate on the Egyptian or western side of the Judah mountains. Near this village, not long ago, a caravan of Jews was attacked and plundered. After passing the villages of Annebe (the vine) and Suffafa, we finally reached our resting place, Ramleh (Sandy), supposed by many to be the ancient Aramathea.

That part of the plain which we had now traversed was comparatively well cultivated, and the soil fruitful, although light and sandy. Hereabout the public mind seemed more composed, for the peasantry were occasionally to be seen industriously employed in the open field with their cattle treading out corn, and other agricultural labours.

Ramleh is a large and populous village, containing probably as many as two thousand inhabitants, Christians and Moslems: it is, however, unwalled. The Latins, Greeks,

and Armenians, each possess convents in the place. We put up at the Latin convent, a building in the outskirts of the town, with a community of ten monks of the Franciscan order, whose hospitality I had profited by on an earlier occasion ; hence, it was a meeting of old friends, and a greater cordiality flowed from it.

Ramleh forms, as it were, the natural resting place for travellers, and it is where they usually put up for the night, proceeding early on the following morning if journeying to Jerusalem, so as to arrive there at an early hour. It is the point of departure for all the uplands, and country east of the Jordan. The whole journey, from Jerusalem to Jaffa occupies, at the rate the muleteers proceed, from nine to ten hours, which, making allowance for the tortuous and abrupt parts of the mountain roads, may be estimated at the rate of full four miles per hour, or forty-five miles by the road.

It is but according to the natural order of things that the different denominations of Christians should commonly lodge at their respective convents ; and yet there can be no doubt but that this

custom of putting up at convents, as I mentioned before, is retained from the time of the Crusades ; and I think I have read in works which treat upon Oriental affairs of those ages, that some such regulation was stipulated for by western influence, and approved of by the reigning Sultans, as affording security of life and property on the roads. Hence, if my memory does not fail me, the regulation was confirmed at the treaty of peace made between Richard the First, Cœur de Leon, and the celebrated Saladin, after the battle of Ascalon. This clause in the Arabian treaty was expressed somewhat to the effect, “ That the Sacred City of Jerusalem, and the Holy places around it, are equally venerated by our people and by your people, wherefore they shall be free for all ; and the Christians shall be permitted when they come in peace, to visit the shrines and sanctuaries of the Holy Land where their religion claims their presence. In such devotions they shall be protected by our power, and shall be allowed to erect establishments in Palestine for their pilgrims, and equal rights and favour shall be conferred on all, under the safeguard of Islam.”

We are now in the region where the palm, not indeed of a fruitful kind, the prickly pear, orange, lime, citron, fig, vine, and pomegranate, abound, but which are scarce and grow partially only amidst the hills of Judah. A singular characteristic about this village is the redness of its soil, which appears to be very prolific.

Close to Ramleh stands the tower of the Forty Martyrs, and adjoining to it are the ruins of a subterranean church which dates from the time of the Crusaders. The tower is in a perfect state of preservation, and its ascent to the top is effected by a flight of spiral stairs. From this elevation an extensive view is obtained of the whole plain, the long range of the Judah and Ephraim hills to the east, and to the west, the blue waters of the Mediterranean sea, for the first time visible, taking in the town of Jaffa in the distance. This tower is of a considerable height, and as a land mark it is one of the first objects visible to the traveller on approaching the village on every side. It is built in a quadrangular shape, and the fabric is altogether of a

different construction from the numerous Oriental form of turret or minarets which in other respects it resembles at a distance. Close to this stands the ruins of the subterranean church, two corridors of which are yet in some degree of preservation, from which it would appear to have been at one time a building of no mean construction. The portion yet perfect is supported by a few arches.

The sides of the walls in several places have been battered in by persons who, it is believed, were instigated to do so from a desire to seek for treasure, this place being reputed still to contain a store of hidden wealth. In others the pressure of the earth above has produced a similar dilapidation, and at best it is a ruin interesting but in its name.

The tradition current among the natives, and which would seem supported by the evidence of things around it, is, that this edifice was once a convent and church of Knights Hospitalers, who founded the said church and built the convent and tower, in order to secure by that pass free ingress to the uplands by the Jaffa road, and

protect Christians, whether pilgrims or of their own military order. Hence, this was anciently a gate to the holy shrines, for as observed from the summit of this tower, the eye ranges over a far distant horizon and can discern the approach of pilgrims or hostile bands, and so make timely preparation for peace or war. On the first expulsion of the order from Palestine by the victorious arms of the Moslems, it is said, a remnant of these uncompromising Knight-monks, forty in number, remained behind and defending their walls to the last man against the Moslem under the Shiech Abd-el-Noor Azan, they all perished; hence these heroes inherited the name of martyrs, and conferred it upon the tower which became their sepulchre, and was named after them the tower of the Forty Martyrs.

That it has claim to antiquity, and that its style of architecture is anything but Saracenic or Oriental, may at least be vouched for, and its preservation from decay, owing to the solidity of the structure, is manifest; as also that no more judicious selection could have been

made of a spot adapted to purposes attributed to it, are points indisputable.

Its sister establishment, the before mentioned Nebi Samuel, served a like purpose in securing the safe conveyance of pilgrims over the hilly country of Judea. The church, if not originally built beneath the soil as it now appears, became so buried through lapse of time, the drift of the plains, and the flooding of the land together; for the accumulations around the building are great, It is possible, however, that this effect might have been produced by some convulsion of nature.

The church, it is still evident, formed one of those castellated edifices which, in the times referred to, were indispensable, either as garrisons, or as places of rendezvous for pilgrims, from thence to be escorted on their way by the sturdy Knights. There are several architectural relics, an aqueduct among the number, not unworthy of the travellers notice *en passant*.

A little removed to the west of Ramleh, is the small village of Lidd, the ancient Lydda, where the Apostle Peter visited the saints, and effected the cure of Eneas, who had been bed-

ridden with the palsy. Acts ix. 32. The village stands upon a gentle slope, surrounded principally by olive trees.

We stayed at Ramleh for a few hours to repose ourselves and to rest our horses ; as it may be supposed, in this interval we did not lose much time in seeking for those comforts needful to recruit our strength before proceeding on to Jaffa, which is situated at five hours' easy ride, or about fifteen to sixteen miles from Ramleh. We were soon ready for the road again ; anxious to reach the coast we pushed our horses over the plain of Sharon, which, in some spots, is utterly destitute of vegetation, although by no means considered a barren soil. The surface of the land is perfectly flat and smooth, affording facility for travelling, if needful, at an accelerated pace. Soon we obtained sight of the intervening villages. The first of which is Beit ed Deen (House of the Faith), and this we left on our right while skirting its thick set plantations of olive trees, arranged in a symmetrical order and forming groves. Culture, however, is not a general feature of this plain, but the contrary appears

in many large districts : others contain plantations more or less extensive, which are sown with maize, tobacco, wheat, barley, and other grains. I observed a peculiarity in the manner of sowing the Indian corn (dhura), ploughing and planting the seed being performed in one operation. The single spoke, by which the country ploughs are worked, is furnished with a leather tube, having a funnel-like mouth, into which the ploughman drops the grain singly from his hand in measured time, and these fall into the rut cut by the share : whereas in other Oriental countries I have seen this operation performed more tediously with a dibber.

In Palestine, properly so called, the earth receives refreshment but from the rains : irrigation by artificial means, excepting at Jaffa, and a few other places on the lowlands, is never employed, or attempted ; although the Jordan and other streams, or waddeys which give down mountain torrents, would supply volumes of water to the fertilization of this land generally. Irrigation is only carried out to a limited extent in places where water is

found or can be raised from wells in some abundance. After the ground is prepared the people sow their land in anticipation of the periodical rains, the autumnal and vernal equinoxes. As soon as the crops are matured, which in fair average seasons occurs about March or April, the ground is again cleared to make room for another species of grain, should the soil still retain sufficient moisture and vigour to ripen it before the great heats commence. When this high temperature sets in then all is parched up that remains ungathered; and like the winter's repose in Europe, so the land of Palestine imbibes new strength from lying thus fallow one-third of the year in its prime or summer heat. Tobacco is often one of the latter crops reared, as it does not require any very extraordinary degree of moisture. The cultivating and collection of this weed gives profitable employment to many hands; in fact the tobacco which is consumed in Palestine is generally all home produce, very little being imported. The Sesemen is another article which forms a second crop, the remaining moisture being often sufficient alone to ripen it.

The heat along the coast and in the towns in summer, is far more oppressive than in Jerusalem, the atmosphere of that city on account of its elevation being comparatively cool and fresh, or at least much more temperate. It results from this that the inhabitants of the maritime districts are more subject to that troublesome cutaneous eruption called prickly-heat, as also they are more liable to annoyance from the gnat or mosquito, cockroach, ant, and other disagreeable visitors, than those who inhabit the more elevated lands. Snakes and scorpions are common all over Palestine, although the sting of the latter is by no means mortal, as the case often proves to be in Egypt, or not necessarily so if proper and timely application be made to the wound, as also if the sting should not have penetrated any part where the circulation quickly spreads. The usual effect of the sting is a very severe pain in the injured part, attended with inflammation which sometimes produces sickness.

Before reaching the village of Yazour, a small hamlet to the right, which name may possibly imply, "Pilgrims" (or Pilgrim's town), we come

to the wide open space near to a ridge of white clifted hillocks of sand, remarkable as the spot where the first Napoleon, whilst on his march to St. Jean d'Acre, inflicted that summary military execution upon the Arnouts who accompanied his army out of Egypt, which forms one feature on the dark side of that Emperor's character.

At the entrance of the gardens, in the immediate suburbs of Jaffa, there is a large Saracenic fountain, which supplies three troughs with water for the use of cattle.

These suburbs are the most picturesque and luxuriant of any I have seen in Palestine. The gardens of the inhabitants extend for several miles around, and these are richly cultivated. The orange, pomegranate, lemon, citron, pears, apples, bananas, &c., are all of the most delicious kinds anywhere produced. This fertility is attributable to the abundance of very pure and sweet water, which may be had by sinking wells to no very great depth. It is by this means the inhabitants irrigate their land.

Our road on approaching towards the town threaded these gardens for three or four miles at

least; properties being mostly divided by impenetrable hedges composed principally of the prickly pear and other thorny shrubs, than which none can be better adapted for defence, although this sort of vegetation affords shelter to the haunts of serpents.

The character of the soil about Jaffa is a heavy loose yellow sand, laborious to travel over. The glare from this can only be neutralized by the traveller turning his eyes upwards and around him, for he is sheltered by an umbrageous canopy through the frequent interlacing of the boughs on each side of him; whilst the air around is impregnated with the rich perfume exhaled from the blossoms of trees and shrubs on all sides.

We approached the town by the eastern gate amidst a busy throng of people, who for want of space within hold their 'sook' or market without the walls.

I took up my quarters at the Latin convent of Terra Santa, which faces the stormy and dangerous port of Jaffa.

CHAPTER IV.

Jaffa—Its Commercial Insignificance—Process of Irrigation in its Gardens—Summer Residences—General Aspect of the Town of Jaffa—The Orientals generally averse to the Outward Adornment of their Towns—Sculptured Relics to be found in Jaffa—The Walls—The Quarantine—The Population of Jaffa—Jaffa as a Missionary Station.

YAFFA or Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, is now a small town on the sea coast, and although the principal port of Palestine, it is a place of no great commercial importance. This is owing in some degree to the dangerous nature of its roadstead, open as this is to the whole sweep of the sea driven forward for three thousand miles by westerly,—which are the winterly gales. Hence,

the port affords no sort of shelter for vessels in heavy weather, which at particular seasons is very prevalent throughout the Levant. The only resource for the mariner on such occasions is to slip his cable timely and put to sea. When these winds commence, which blow with extreme violence, they generally last three days, during which time the whole roadstead is speedily lashed into foaming breakers. Numerous instances have occurred, when due precautions have been neglected, that vessels have parted from their stoutest moorings, and been driven upon the coast. Many of the rocks and shoals which line it, are the more treacherous to the navigator, from being a *fleur d'eau*, or, as mariners might probably call it, a "wash," while others are under water, which are invisible snares.

There is no doubt that if the harbour afforded security to vessels, we should speedily see Jaffa rise to more importance than it enjoys. Yet it is to be considered, that not alone the insecurity of an anchorage so unsheltered, is the cause of its commercial insignificance, for the poverty

of the country generally must also be taken into the calculation. It appears that Palestine is only to enjoy that renown which belongs of right to its name, as the seat of holiness ; and that, absorbing as this land does a spiritual rather than a wordly interest, in the minds, not of its inhabitants only, but of more than half the population of the globe, Jaffa is destined to be viewed but as a sea-gate for the pilgrimage of the west. But though the natural resources of this country may not be very great, we cannot behold without vexation the supineness which leaves neglected its great capabilities of increased prosperity.

The productions of this part of the country available for commerce are in demand, and a portion find their way to Europe. These consist of dried and other fruits ; even oranges are yearly exported, as also the sesemen and other seeds, olive oil, &c. The orange in particular grows to the greatest perfection and abundance in the gardens I mentioned, as extending for several miles around Jaffa, and in which the boughs of the trees literally

sweep the ground through the weight of the fruit. The mode employed to water these gardens and orchards, is by the wheel only, a process of raising water peculiar to this among some other Oriental countries ; the manner of working is by a wheel of large dimensions, to which a chain of jars is attached bound by a rope circularly joined. Some animal power, horse or camel, is employed to turn the wheel and dip the jars, which descend into the well, their mouths downward on the descent, and consequently upwards on the ascent, after being filled by the action of the wheel.

The process of irrigation is very simple: partitions are made of a field or garden which it is the practice to subdivide into beds of ten or more feet square; each bed separated from its fellow by a little embankment of earth; about four sonaki or channels from the reservoir to the end of the plot of ground convey the water to the four cardinal points. The interval of four days drought being used to each section, this term allows all the plants in all the sections to drink when the plug of the reservoir is opened; the

agriculturist, hoe in hand, follows the stream of water and cuts open bed after bed in succession, closing them again when the earth can absorb no more.

This mode of irrigation is practised in Egypt : the jars only are not in use in parts of the country I have seen, for the water not being drawn from any considerable depth, the wheel itself is so constructed with grooves as to raise this element without the aid of the jar.

The natives of Palestine, like the Orientals in general, are inaccessible to arguments that should incline them to alter the customs or habits of ages, nor is it easy to make them understand even that the moderns are able to improve upon what was known to their forefathers. But if this prejudice could be overcome, it is reasonable to think that the work of irrigation might be done with much less cost and effort—as there can be no reckoning the number of breakages—by means of capillary attraction, a system which has been exhibited to them and which excited their admiration ; but that is all, for it failed entirely in superseding the jar. Yet there is no doubt that if they could be

prevailed upon to adopt it, the introducer of this system would confer a public benefit, and would surely reap the fruits of it himself, for no competition could prevail against it.

In each of these gardens there is a summer residence, which, besides serving for this purpose, is used as a magazine to store and preserve the gathered fruit. Cooler and more delightful apartments cannot be found against the oppressive heat of the khamsin or sirrocco wind, when it blows off the Egyptian and Arabian deserts, parching up vegetation, and sometimes bringing on its wings that direful insect, the locust, which, in a single night, is capable of devouring entire crops of corn, fruit, and herbage of all sorts, besides stripping the trees of their leaves and leaving but a prospect of desolation as if the surface had been swept by fire, for when nothing more remains the locust will attack the fig trees.

It is a peculiarity in the architecture of these country houses, that a channel is made to traverse the centre of the lower rooms, through which the water is made to flow after being raised by the wheel on its way to the Jabia, or reservoir

abovementioned, affording thereby the convenient use of this element to the inmates ; and besides being gratifying to the eye in the heat of summer, it contributes to cool the atmosphere of the apartments.

For my part I will freely admit, that in a climate such as Palestine, the luxury is not trivial on entering these gardens to repose by the side of gurgling streams, and I can appreciate the full enjoyment experienced by the natives as they regale themselves, amidst the perfume of the orange blossom with coffee and pipe. These gardens then are the usual resort of parties, and here with music, in addition, families consisting of both sexes assemble to inhale the balmy odours from the shrubs, which assuredly have a tendency to lull the senses in delicious reverie, and produce that dreamy state of the faculties the natives call *kafiyeh*.

The most pleasing aspect the town of Jaffa presents is from the sea, from whence it appears to be built, as it actually is, upon a gentle acclivity or slope of a hill ; the houses viewed from this quarter rise one above another, conveying the idea

of its being a small, but neat and pretty town, which very much belies the truth, for the streets on entering will be found small, narrow, and filthily dirty, unpaved and irregular, and in wet weather utterly impassable.

The houses too are small in general and inconveniently built, in the same style as those of Jerusalem. The bazaars, however, are comparatively well supplied both with merchandize and produce of the country. Many articles, from its maritime situation, may be obtained at Jaffa, which do not find their way to Jerusalem. These commodities are for the most part introduced from Alexandria, and other neighbouring ports, with which places Jaffa carries on a small coasting trade.

There being no inns, travellers from western Christendom on arriving usually put up at some one of the convents; the Latin one is generally chosen, as it affords better accommodation than can be obtained in the more Oriental convents belonging to the Greeks and Armenians. Yet it is right to admit, that equal hospitality would be shown by all, and this gratuitously, to such as are

unable to acknowledge it by a parting donation, which is usually given by other classes of visitors.

These convents are sometimes at an outlay, and frequently losers, especially during the time the pilgrims throng to Jerusalem, the greater part of whom are wretchedly poor. Yet they are indemnified by the noble grants sent from their respective governments and co-religionists in Europe. The monks of the Latin Convents, with whom I had frequent intercourse, I found to be generally Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians. The current language in these convents may be considered, however, to be the Italian.

There is nothing worth visiting in the town of Jaffa itself, and the only place adapted for walking within the walls, if such a place can well be, is the quay.

I would strongly advise travellers on their arrival to shorten their stay within the town as much as possible, and having seen their portmanteau carefully deposited within the convent walls, then to hasten out of the place and devote

their spare time at least to the numerous gardens without the walls, as it will fully compensate for any disappointment experienced from the discomforts of the town.

The present generations of Arabs and Orientals are generally averse to the adornment of their towns or cities, either by the erection of gorgeous public edifices, or by the exterior embellishment of the mansions of the wealthy, however sumptuously these may be decorated internally, as they usually are. Hence it arises that, not Jaffa alone, but most Oriental towns, present but a sombre sample and aspect to the European eye, accustomed as it is to the splendour of some of the capitals of Christendom. Temples or churches are the chief, or nearly the only exceptions to this rule; for even the palaces of monarchs, extensive although they be, exhibit little more than plain massive walls externally, without windows, unless in European Turkey or other countries where innovations, called reform, have been introduced. Unless under a certain amount

of liberty a public display of individual wealth, besides its ostentation, which is deemed offensive, would be considered impolitic, as attracting notice, and exciting the envy or cupidity of men in power under arbitrary governments; and this the prudent man is cautious to avoid as much as he is able, never-seeking to proclaim his wealth by an external embellishment of his place of residence.

The few sculptured relics to be found in Jaffa, and these are indeed rare, may be traced to the Saracenic age; among these there is a fountain at the gate of the town, whose origin is evidently traceable to those times. There is something pretty in this style of architecture, although the relic is but a fanciful distribution of written characters representing for the most part passages of the Islam law copied from the Koran.

The walls of Jaffa are encompassed by a ditch full twenty or thirty feet deep, wherein is pointed out by the natives a locality on the southern side of the town where the first Napoleon, irritated at the resistance offered by the

nhabitants, threatened to blow up the town, and with such intent undermined a part of the walls.

The Quarantine ground is situated without the walls, at the south end of the town, on the sea shore. This is a quadrangular building, with apartments encompassing the space, covered in with tiles, a method of roofing buildings out of the common order of things in those countries, which have invariably the dome, except in the case of convents, where the European style of tiling is used.

I deem the subject of quarantine at Jaffa not wholly unimportant to speak upon, be it only to describe its reality, as a warning to future travellers against performing such penance at this place, recommending them, if it be possible, to select any other spot in preference for passing that ordeal. It was my mishap to acquire this wisdom from personal experience on a former occasion, when on my way from Egypt. Such was the utter destitution of the Lazaretto, that not even the most indispensable articles, such as table, bed, or chairs, fuel, candles, &c.,

were to be found ; neither were there fastenings to the doors, shutters to the windows, or mats for the floor. Such articles as were wanted I was constrained to procure from the convent within the town ; but this was not effected until I had tested my constitutional power of endurance, by passing a night in this elysium as best I could, upon my bed of trunks and packages. *Et pour comble de mes delices*, as if water purifications were designedly intended, the roof was a cullender through which the rain descended upon me, as in a shower bath, whilst the rats, of which we could count some score, by their nefarious attacks upon our candles, kept continually extinguishing them ; and a host of fleas being added to all this, I leave my readers to judge how they would relish such reception after the fatigue of a journey.

As to diet, it is fair to observe that those whose appetites crave but for two meals in the twenty-four hours, may obtain them here ; yet even so they will be beholden for such to the hospitality of the good fathers of the convent, as I also was beholden to them. Yet not being

endowed with the power of abstemiousness, it cost my party no slight effort to obtain a third refectory ; for like birds in a cage, it was only by clinging to the bars of our prison and shouting at the top of our voices, that we were able at length to attract attention and obtain what we wanted.

It is at Jaffa, above all other places known to me, where the patience of the traveller is tested most ; for here, in a land of fatalists, he may well be excused for any strong reflection on the absurdity of quarantine laws, among a people so averse to them, that they would laugh at such enactments, if they did not look more seriously upon those regulations as involving a question of impiety. It seems hardly necessary to explain that it is a fundamental principle in the religion of Islam, to rely literally as the Koran instructs on the dispensations of Providence, or as the Orientals would more aptly and more piously express it, on the decrees of God. Hence, happen what may, the selection of a particular passage from that book, comes in-

variably to the lips of the disciple, and he utters it alike on prayer or thanksgiving. Glorifying God for that which could not have been averted and neither could have happened without His will. *La hadwâl wo la kowat ela Billahi.* Neither can calamity befall, nor strength be acquired but by the ordinance of God—an ejaculation from whence consolation is derived under every affliction that can happen to humanity.

We visited, of course, the ruins which tradition assigns to the house of Simon the tanner, and from whence Peter saw that remarkable vision of a sheet let down by the four corners wherein were all manner of beasts, both those esteemed clean and unclean by the Mosaic law, typifying the admission of the gentiles into covenant. Acts x, 6.

As to its being the actual site of this vision opinions are divided, although it is not to be denied that there is some probability of its being so. It is objected that where solid tem-

ples are known to have perished through time and the elements in fewer centuries than have elapsed since the age of the Redeemer, it can hardly be conceived that the vestiges of a mere house should have stood to this period; and there are grounds for conjecture, indeed, that this tradition has been current and accepted, but from the middle ages, the spirit of those times, and the desire of monks to leave nothing out of a catalogue that claimed so much piety among pilgrims, having stamped this with an air of authenticity from the mere fact of its vicinity to the sea, in accordance with the inference of the Scriptures.

The population of Jaffa averages from ten to twelve thousand, but this number fluctuates through the ebb and flow of the pilgrims. Very few of these pilgrims, however, are members of Protestant congregations. There is in view a plan for establishing a school under the supervision of our missionaries to benefit the native children. The Rev. Mr. Cröese, late of Cairo, is now the resident missionary. There being no place of worship, Divine service is read every

Sunday by the above gentleman at the house of the British Consul, Dr. Kayat.

The Jews, although not so numerous here as at Hebron, Saphat, or any other of the towns by them reckoned holy, are nevertheless not inconsiderable, and they live under the closest surveillance of the Rabbins.

Impressed in favour of Jaffa as a missionary station from whence the work of evangelization might be carried on, and goodly fruits reaped, I deem it next to obligatory to express these sentiments emphatically, claiming, so far as I may be permitted, to call the attention of those societies whose exertions are devoted to the missionary cause, to this subject. There is no doubt that if we are to indulge any sanguine hopes of ultimate success to our missionary labours in Palestine generally, laudable as the endeavours are of those few who are engaged in this work, then, as in every great undertaking, we must grapple with difficulties by employing appropriate and available means commensurate with the work. These naturally consist of a more numerous band of reflective, persevering

and spiritual minded men as labourers in that field, men, in fine, of industry and zeal, tempered with discretion sufficient to entice the human mind, and enlist the spirit of the proselyte by example as much as precept.

Uttering this as I do in all charity, with a conscientious belief that by steadfast and earnest efforts we might achieve an extent of good proportionate to the means, I would still point to Jaffa as to that particular portal through which the missionary might gain ingress to a field whose capacity can well afford a scope for success, and might even shed fame or immortality upon a name. I venture to add that it is a service which reasonably demands that more attention, and more spiritual devotion should be given to it than have heretofore been bestowed, and I further believe that it would be attended with increased advantage if the missionary were to reside some months at Jaffa as in a training college, before he should enter upon the duties assigned to him in Palestine. This town as a dependancy upon Jerusalem might be made a missionary rendezvous. With the same

freedom I affirm that it behoves all who feel an interest in promoting the pure spirit of Christianity in this land of promise, to use those measures which are most conducive to the ends desired ; as also to take the cause more to heart, and exert greater strength, spiritual or other, in supporting a healthy influence abroad adapted to a work of this great merit. I admit that very great and noble efforts have been made in some instances in certain countries of the East, but these, unlike the field in question, are lands which we cannot identify with any Scriptural promise. Then why, may it be, asked should Jerusalem, in and around which are concentrated the hopes accruing from so many divine promises, not have met the full consideration it deserves ?

As we have received our all from Jerusalem, surely a common impulse of gratitude for that light which dispelled darkness from the hearths and the temples of our ancestors, should of itself incline us to turn with a kindly feeling towards the source of that spiritual good, to the end that we may nourish the

the fountain from whence it flows; for our utmost gratitude could be in no manner proportionate to the gifts we have received.

The Jews, indeed, are not unmindful of the physical as well as the spiritual claims of their brethren in the ancient inheritance of their nation; neither is it a land utterly forgotten by the Christian sects. But as matters stand, and have existed for ages, the feeling of the reformed church towards Palestine seems to suffer under a benumbing chill, and even travellers from our own church have no dependence for food or shelter in that land unless through the Greek or Latin convents which supply their wants.

I cannot help feeling that this is an evil to be deplored, if only because it is humiliating to us as Christians, and natives of one of the most mighty and most wealthy empires of the earth; and this feeling becomes stronger when we consider the moral and political power which supports the first institution of our land, the Anglican Church, and the great blessings it would confer upon generations yet unborn, if

this influence could be brought to bear directly upon the sympathies and interests of Palestine, which are inseparable from our own, or ought to be so.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Jaffa—Caifa—Mount Carmel and its associations—The Architecture of Syria—The Population of Caifa—The Downfall of Egyptian Supremacy in Egypt—The Bombardment of Acre—The Carmelite Convent—The Padra Carlo—French Political Pilgrims—Ferocious Dogs—Vegetation in the Neighbourhood of Mount Carmel.

OUR residence at Jaffa drew to its close, and we prepared to quit its beautiful gardens with reluctance. We arranged to embark on board the Austrian steamer l'Africa, which performs the run between Alexandria and Constantinople, touching at the intermediate ports of

Palestine, Syria, and Anatolia. Our destination was Caifa, which is seated at the foot of mount Carmel, on the southern side of the bay of Acre. The distance is some trifle short of forty miles by land, which we accomplished pleasantly enough in about five hours. The passage was so short that we had not time to form any estimate of the goodly company who were on their way from Egypt to the upper coast, or to Turkey. It was happy in one respect, for at least we escaped the penalty of those yearnings or pains of separation so common at parting with those to whose society we become imperceptibly attached.

We landed at Caifa on the morning of the following day, and I put up at the convent of mount Carmel.

Mount Carmel forms part of the Lebanon range, which stretches south as far as the plains of Sharon. The mount itself is remarkably conspicuous out at sea, and forms a good land mark for the mariner, for it rises in a bold relief, being the terminus of this mountain range, and nearly 1200 feet elevation above the level of the sea,

and bounding the plain of Esdraelon on the west. Its top is surmounted with the convent bearing the same name, and belonging to the Carmelite order of monks.

Who can depict the glory of Carmel, or what tongue conjure up the early reminiscences of this mountain of sacred renown, where prophets prophesied, and which conquerors vanquished and despoiled of its splendour, whilst leaving but in its stones a memento of the past?

The town of Caifa is situated a mile and a half from the peak upon which the convent is built. It covers but a small space, and contains no edifice of any note, if we except a few minarets; although these are of an inferior construction, and some in a dilapidated state, like a great portion of the houses, which are mostly built of rough unhewn sand stone, plastered over with lime.

There is no nationality in the construction of the buildings in Syria striking to the eye of a resident in Palestine, who looks in vain for the cupolas, and ventilated walls, which are characteristic of the Holy Land, Jerusalem in particu-

lar. We may observe, however, that the roofs, being flat instead of domed, are necessarily supported by rafters of a solidity capable of sustaining the weight of flat terraces of korasan—a composition of lime and sand beaten to a hard consistency.

The population of Caifa may be estimated at about two thousand souls, between Moslems, Christians, and Jews. Notwithstanding the defects of this port, the town is dignified by the presence of several foreign agents or Vice Consuls, who represent at this place the governments of Russia, France, and very recently England, in the person of Mr. Rogers, a gentleman who was my travelling companion in Palestine, and who, after visiting England in the spring of this year, has returned again to that country charged with the aforesaid duties at Caifa.

There are several places in ruins, not the work of time, but from dilapidations, the effect of war, when the inhabitants of this peaceful retreat, for such it is, together with those of the neighbouring town of Acre, heard the booming of the cannon announcing to them the downfall of Egyptian

supremacy in Syria in the year 1840, for it was at that period the allied fleets of England and Turkey, in the names of two commanders, Stopford and Napier, were the talisman that insured submission on one side and peace on the other, triumph to Turkey over her most formidable vassal, and security to that vassal against having to give indemnity for the spoils of the plundered Syrians and Anatolians—a battle won ashore, 'tis said, and an opportunity lost!! a prince dethroned, yet reseatd upon it!!

There is a small castle standing at the back of Caifa which still attests the effect of our shot, and two old guns are nearly buried beneath a mass of rubbish fallen from above. This town, although not an object of attack, as supposed, nevertheless bore a proportionate share in the general havoc.

Several versions are current regarding the bombardment of Acre and the military operations, which produced considerable devastation among the inhabitants and their houses, especially in those places where the buildings were most exposed. It is with reason that these

events are fresh in the memory of the people, for numbers were involved in trouble, penury, and calamities of all kinds.

Before the commencement of the action, the pacifically inclined among the inhabitants of Acre and Caifa, took refuge with their families on the heights of Carmel. The bards, or poets of this country, still sing poetic effusions on these events, in verses, however, whose translation falls far short of the Homeric lays. The following is a verse which I have often heard sung or recited in Acre and Caifa, and which I select in order that the reader at least may form a slight notion of the awful impression created on the minds of these peaceable people.—

“ Chaos, and the region of fire for the punishment of the
doomed,

Our sages say is beneath the earth we live on :

But how can we believe that mortals have not access to it
When we behold these flames, and hear those bellowing
sounds

Vomiting sulphurous vapours on our devoted Acre ?”

The tempting aspect of the convent and its gardens, added to the salubrious atmosphere of the place, and the allurements of happy associations belonging to an earlier visit, rendered

it natural that I should prefer taking up my quarters among those good fathers for acquaintance sake. This I accordingly lost no time in doing. It was the revival of a friendship, as it were, already established; and if the worthy Carmelites felt pleasure in witnessing the impression of their former hospitality by my renewed visit, the sensation was no less genial on my side.

This convent, which is built in a regular order upon the site of an older edifice, covers a considerable plot of ground. Many tongued tradition asserts that it occupies the exact spot where Elijah the prophet destroyed the worship of the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. The present convent, which is a new structure, was raised by the indefatigable exertions of a monk named Jean Battista, who was canonized after death and who visited all the courts of Catholic Christendom, for the sake of procuring funds sufficient to complete this really beautiful edifice, for it must be admitted that it has no rival in that country, and is far superior to any other convent in the Holy Land.

It is divided into two compartments, one appropriated exclusively to the use of the Order, which contains the chapel, refectory, dormitory, library, &c., the other appropriated to benevolent purposes, forms an hospice, or resting place for the wayfarer, or the pilgrim, whose treatment does honour to this hospitable community.

Living as they do on another continent and in a social community, whose institutions separate them from a class of knowledge and of reasoning common to Europeans, due allowance must be made for the flow of ideas among these recluses, which would seem contracted, at least to visitors from the more western parts of Europe. The Padre Carlo, our worthy host, is an exception to this, and seems to have been selected purposely to do the honours of the convent from his superior intelligence and urbanity. It was his practice to keep us company at meal time, attending to all our wants as his monks supplied the table ; but declining, in true Oriental style of politeness, to be a partaker of his own hospitality with the hungry stranger.

But it was to him we owed the relish of the feast he spread before us, which was no ordinary one, for the liveliness of his conversation the while upon a variety of topics, and the great suavity of his manners, caused us to do justice to his constant recommendation to attack the good things before us. Although an Italian by birth, French was the language he preferred to discourse in, and the favourite topic of conversation, indeed a general one at that time, was the war and its effects upon the destinies of the East.

I had the gratification, whilst at the convent, to form the acquaintance of M. Dugrée, a gentleman of very insinuating manners, and one of a chosen band or company of forty pilgrims who were sent to this country by the French government. These Frenchmen, among whom some were members of high families in France, were directed for some end unknown to visit all the Holy localities. Hence a title to the name of pilgrim was indisputable, and may have been a just one. They were habited in a peculiar style of dress common to all the party. This

consisted of a loose white tunic, or rather toga, long and flowing, which covered the usual apparel of the European gentleman. Over this outer garment, which bore some resemblance to the *abayeh* of the Arabs, was suspended from the neck a goodly sized gold cross, the gift of the Archbishop of Paris.

Their stay was very short; M. Dugrée, however, was detained longer than his comrades, through an attack of ague, to which in fact I owe my good fortune in forming that acquaintance, for it necessarily brought him to the convent in order to be nursed by the friars.

The formidable array of these forty pilgrims in uniform, gun in hand, crossed breasts, marching through the land "a moitié militaire," could not fail to move spectators, and certainly it had no tendency to conciliate feelings, which, at best, are incongruous among the sectarians who inhabit that soil, or frequent the shrines periodically. Above all others the powerful party of the Greeks, alias Russians, as co-religionists at least, were disturbed, and if their jealousy begat alarm, whether on spiritual or political grounds, surely reflection

on these times, or on events which so shortly followed, will afford some palliation for those feelings.

The convent of mount Carmel is guarded at night by large dogs, apparently similar in race to those of mount St. Bernard. These, although perfectly docile and harmless by day, I would council an extreme caution against in going without the convent walls after dark, when their vigilance is completely roused.

One night when I returned very late to the convent, after effecting the ascent, which runs obliquely on the western side of the mount, I was suddenly assailed by one of these fierce animals, which caused my horse to plunge and rear the more as the assailants gathered fury and increased in number, so that it required the most vigorous efforts to stem this tide of opposition, and prevent my being dragged to the earth, which I was exposed to the danger of, and did not escape from without torn garments. My *abayeh* suffered the most, this being parted from me piecemeal to save my skin. The arrival of the keeper, aroused at length by the noise, put an end to the contest and my apprehensions together.

The whole of Carmel is overgrown with wild shrubbery of many species, and flowers of every hue, nature everywhere displaying the gay blossoms of Anemonies, Daffodils, Pheasant's Eye, Red Gnaphalium, Convolvuli, Cyclamen, and many others of a corresponding brilliancy or fragrant odour. On the sides of the mount is a cave where petrefactions of a curious nature, such as of the olives, date, &c., as also a petrified human skull, were exhibited to me as great curiosities.

A very fine view is afforded from the convent windows while looking seaward, with the town of Caifa at the base of this mount, and Acre on the opposite horn of the crescent formed by the bay, the distance of which from Caifa is about fourteen miles by land. The same scope of vision takes in a prospect of the Ras-el-Abiad, promentorium album of the Romans, near to the town of Sour, the ancient Tyre, now a place of no sort of importance.

CHAPTER VI.

Yacob esh Shelaby—His Journey to England and its Results—El Mukatáa—El Náaman—Sanguinary Battles Fought in its Neighbourhood—Capabilities of Improvement possessed by this Region—Western and Oriental Civilization—The Features of the Country about Acre—Effects of the Bombardment of Acre still Visible—The French Army in Egypt—The Musical Consular Attaché—The Bishop of Sour—Wars between the Maronites and Druses—Peculiar Ornament worn by the Women at Yerka.

FROM Caifa I resumed my journey coastward, circumventing the bay, which, like the town, bears the name of Acre. Its position opposite the promontory of this bay has a uniform appearance, the whole being encompassed by an amphitheatre of hills. The road was agreeable enough to one who, like myself, had but recently hailed the agreeable sight of the sea, after a

long absence from it ; still the eye roved for relief on the land side, which, however, afforded but little to claim attention besides the hills, whose intersection parts the little plain off, as it were, from the main-land. I had now fallen in with my old friend of Jerusalem, Yacob esh Shelaby, the Samaritan, who, having since visited England, it is presumed, is no stranger to many of my readers, accredited by the surviving remnant of his nation to receive what bounty might be bestowed on the residue of his people, who now scarcely amount to two hundred souls. By his own admission he had set out on this journey with a fair hope of success from the charitable feelings of the English people. With this resolution he had left Nablous, (Samaria) his native city, and as I fell in with Yacob esh Shelaby again in England, on my arrival, and tried to promote his views by some feeble efforts, I can speak of the grateful impressions left on his mind, by the kind attention and services rendered him, verifying the confidence he felt regarding the hospitality and compassion of the English, our most gracious Sovereign having

set a benevolent example, which was followed by many feeling persons, who contributed to the subscription. But this is a digression. I am still on the beach, on my way to Acre, skirting a thick plantation of the palm, with Shelaby by my side. This plantation borders our path on one side, while the other is occasionally intercepted by the rippling waters left by the receding waves. The country we traversed may properly deserve the name of a plain of no very great extent, yet it has the advantage of possessing two streams, which constantly flow through it, unlike the waddeys of the upper lands, and these we had to ford at points where the water was too brackish to drink. The first of these is named El Mukatáa (the Kishon). The waters, if taken at the upper parts of its course, may be traced several miles from the mountains, wherein its source is situated. The second of these streams, the El Náaman, (the Belus') is remarkable, as well, indeed, as the whole of this plain, for the many sanguinary battles which have been fought in its neighbourhood; for this, no less than the soil of Palestine

proper, has been soddened with human gore, especially that which was spilt during the mania for crusading. This was also the line of march pursued by Alexander the Great. And besides, the Belus is remarkable for the quality of its sand on its margin, the accidental vitrification of which, it is said, gave rise to the discovery of glass. The stream of the Belus is much more rapid than that of the former river, and the depth of the water considerably greater, requiring us to use great precaution in traversing it, for fear of losing footing, and being swept down by the current.

How much might be done in improving a plain so well provided with the means 'to water it, must be evident to others also. I could not help thinking what this country might become in connexion with the more northern part of it, indeed of Syria entire, should the project of the transit down the Euphrates, or between England and her Eastern Empire, ever be carried into effect: for in this case the importance which we have conferred upon the ruler of a vassal state, viz.,—Egypt, would be given to strengthen the

hands of that Prince, to whom it belongs by title, if the swords of ancestors can confer such rights upon their posterity. Should the Euphrates, as it once was said, be the direct route to British India, and the path amidst Arab tribes so little known, become smoothened by intercourse and commerce with the western nations, there is no foreseeing to what extent the civilization, as we term it, of the west, might penetrate among the people who line the banks, both of the Euphrates and the Tigris. I qualify the term civilization, because the Orientals generally conceive that their own civilization (for who can deny that they possess it?) is at least suitable to their wants, institutions, and climate. What commerce might bring to pass, by the introduction of wants now unfelt, is quite another thing.

The features of the country about Acre are in themselves nothing very prepossessing, yet the markets are well supplied from a soil generous in its nature, with all the necessities and many of those things we should term the luxuries of life ; and this too with the smallest atten-

tion bestowed upon it, and these luxuries may be obtained at moderate prices.

I have spoken in another place of the impression left on the minds of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood by the terrific bombardment this city sustained. The effect of this as we now entered its walls is still traceable, although the repairs its fortifications had undergone since that event amounted to a full restoration of the formidable character of that strength which had defied the nervous exertions of a conquering army half a century back, headed by its conquering leader, Napoleon, the first of his name. The mishap or mistake committed in this instance, was to be attributed in some degree to accident, but principally to that fever of mind which had prompted the expedition to Egypt on the part of the Directory, as well as on his own, begetting the same in an army which clearly saw that its peaceable possession of Egypt, if to be hoped at all, could only be secured against reactions on the land side itself, and against the invasions of Turkey by land and sea, by the conquest of Syria and Palestine. The accidental part of the

mishap arose from the interception of the battering train, which was necessarily sent by sea, and picked up by Sir Sidney Smith ; these are points which struck me with the greater force from the reading of certain letters which were addressed by the French army when occupying Egypt, and which were translated and published in 1799. One of these writers, Le Pere, says, after describing embarrassments, "Such is our situation, which considering the rooted hatred of the Egyptians, and the never ending hostility of the Arabs, I must look upon as the second volume of the Crusades, and good Heavens ! who knows but the Turks will also declare war against us." "The Directory," says another writer, "have obtained their end ! and they are happy." Then well did Napoleon deserve of France for the *coup* which ended their misrule.

I was very much amused by the vocal talent of one of the consular attachés, a native of the place, who prided himself, and not perhaps without reason at having been on board the English fleet whilst lying off Acre. This man used to imitate to a nicety the playing of the band,

many English airs especially, and amongst them that which claims the sympathy of many stomachs, his own no doubt included, viz., “ O the roast beef of old England.” How he managed to utter the various intonations of the respective instruments was a matter of surprise to the auditor, and I could not deny the applause this mimicry really claimed for the excellence of his performance.

My mind being given to the object of quitting these shores, and visiting England for a time, to which I am partly a stranger, I hastened my departure from Acre, and proceeded accompanied by the Bishop of Sour, a man well known and respected by Bishop Gobat ; indeed it was a fortunate accident which produced our meeting, my companion enjoying a merited reputation no less for his urbanity than for the enlightened principles by which he is distinguished. From Acre we journeyed to the village of Yerka, situated upon a part of the Lebanon chain of mountains, “ for a change of scene.” The village we found to be a pretty and a healthy retreat from the heat of the plains. This is a Druse village, the Sheikh of which received us with great hospitality and kindness.

The never ending wars between the Maronites and their Druse neighbours, would of themselves occupy many pages if I were to relate things which have a merely local interest, and it is this consideration, as much as anything else, which induces me to suppress descriptions of many other places. The loss, however, of this, if a loss, may be readily supplied from the works of several other authors. I was desirous to prolong my stay at Yerka, and had I but consulted the pleasure that sojournment afforded me, I should earnestly have desired a week in this charming spot, which consequently I did not quit without regret. A peculiarity I observed at Yerka was in the manner the women wore that very singular and ancient head ornament "the horn," for the females of Yerka fasten it to the back part of the head, it consequently droops downwards, and projecting at the same time, producing an extraordinary spectacle, which would be absurd if we did not remember that they probably wear the horn as bearing that symbolical meaning which is attached to it in Scriptures, in which it is made symbolical of honour, purity, &c.

Another peculiarity most agreeable to behold is the great propriety and order preserved in all the villages of the Druses, and this of itself might have formed an additional inducement to prolong my stay in those mountains, but the sand had run out, which betokened the approach of that day to which my stay on the coast was limited. It is true I had to retrace my steps to Jerusalem once more, but my stay in the Holy City was short this time. I returned to Jaffa in time to go in the French steamer "Mentor," bound to Egypt and Marseilles.

NOTES
ON THE
TRIBES OF CANAAN
AND OTHER RACES.

THE TRIBES OF CANAAN

AND OTHER ORIENTAL RACES.

CHAPTER I.

The Atlas Mountains—The Gibbel—The Mountains of Rif—Gibbel Tilge—The Central Atlas—The Gibbeliana in Tunis—The Soda or Black Mountains—The River Ghazel—Extent of the whole chain of the Atlas—Exceptions to its general sterility—The Garden of the Hesperides—The Gulf of the Sirtis—Fertility of its Shores—Highways between Asia and Africa—Mountains passing through the Country of the Mezzebi—Attempted invasion of the Gibbel by the Roman Governor of Carthage—Ghoma ben Khalifa—Jiffara—The Kabayles—Their Ancient Worship—Emir Abd el Kader—The branches of the Atlas which penetrate Tunis—The Zwoui—The Gibbel considered as a natural fortress.

To revive the memory of a period so long elapsed as that of the conquest of the Promised Land, and to introduce to the reader some of the descendants of those races of men who vainly strove to defend their soil against the children

of Israel, is a task which may, not altogether unfitly, be compared with excavations on the site of Nineveh ; with this difference, that in the former case there are living monuments which testify a past so long entombed, and remembered but as we read the sacred record of their doom.

As we shall have to speak of those vast ranges of mountains in Africa known to us by the name of Atlas, it will be well to introduce to the reader some features of the geography of these mountains and the plains beneath them, which, according to existing testimony, formed, and in many instances still form, the inheritance of the posterity of those Oriental races.

These races for the most part are pure in blood, although some exceptions are found ; and besides their mountain lands they sow on the plains and reap the crop in season, paying the lawful tribute when enforced, or resisting those dues, if able, as it often happens, even against powerful armies fully equipped by the local governments. These are the tribes known to us by the name of Kabayls, a people every way distinct from the race of Arabia ; nor do they hold intercourse together unless a

strangers or foreigners may meet; religion, although esteemed imperfect or impure on the side of the Kabayl, being the only tie between the Arab and himself.

Taken as a whole that part of the Atlas, exceeding the half of its entire extent, which spreads from the back of Tripoli into the Sahara below Suse, casting off innumerable branches as well on the side of the great desert as on those of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Fez, Morocco, and Suse, contains three vast masses or assemblages of mountains, which the sovereigns of the respective countries they stand in are scarcely able to control by policy under the most powerful administrations of government, not excepting the time of the Khalifat, and never to subdue and possess the land by force of arms, as our great allies the French seem to be trying to subdue and possess the southern borders of their Algeria and its Kabaylia, and which, in truth, is a great as well as a costly experiment, whose permanency against reactions must depend upon the permanency of means to meet those contingencies.

The first of these principal assemblages of masses of mountains, (for those of Algiers do not belong to the class spoken of) are the Gibbel on the side of Tripoli,— in the heart indeed of what was Tripoli a few ages past, for then it extended nearly to the Gulf of Hammamet ; the mountains of Rif, which spread from the straits of Gibraltar, behind or through the kingdom of Fez, as also from the Atlantic to the Melouia river, or the desert of Angad ; and the cluster of Gibbel Tilge, the most lofty indeed of the Atlas range, which covers all the space that separates Taffilet and Drâa, from Tedla, and the plains of Morocco, including a great portion of Suse and the Sahra belonging to it.

These are the three great natural fastnesses wherein at very early periods Asiatic tribes or nations, including, as the evidence of things seems to attest, the outcast natives of Canaan, succeeded in effecting a permanent establishment, as indeed upon other parts of the Atlas, which form the patrimony enjoyed by the tribes descended, it is maintained by the Orientals, from those ancestors to the present time.

By the central Atlas, to make this general distinction, may be understood that part which borders the Mediterranean as far as Tripoli, the distance of which from the sea varies from 30 to about 200 miles in some places. Some among these mountains also form dense masses, whose forks spread on one side to the sea coasts, forming its capes or headlands, and on the other they penetrate deeply into the Desert, whose waddeys and maàtens (natural reservoirs or lakes) they occasionally fill when the wintry winds, which blow from the direction of the Alps, and are therefore known to the Mediterranean mariner by the name Tra-montana, are of force sufficient to carry the clouds so far as to deluge the southern slopes and valleys of the Atlas, gladdening the populations of the Sahra, who make use of those falls in irrigating the arid soil so far as the water can be conveyed.

Besides the great Gibbel of Tripoli already spoken of, there is another chain of some local interest called the Gibbeliana in Tunis, both of which are peopled with the descendants of these early colonists. Not a single Arab tribe exists among

these races, although the plains contain a scattering of these people, besides being visited by nomadic sojourners who pasture their cattle and cultivate the land for a term, as their ancestors have done for generations out of mind, and as known to the world before Herodotus enlightened it on the habits of some of the Libyan races.

The Gibbeliana mountains, which are scarcely 2,000 feet above the level of the plain, are a mere offset from those which are called Matamata, and divide the country of Arad or of Gabs from the Jerrid (or Bled el Jerrid); but they are of a certain military importance, forming a covering to the upper provinces of Tunis, as in other days they covered Carthage, as the relics of some forts, built on the slopes of these mountains, seem to corroborate. They are about twenty-five miles from the sea, which space constitutes the pass; and it was in this vicinity, viz., at the Kapoudia, where Bellizarius landed, and having defeated the Vandals, was enabled to turn the metropolis of the kingdom and complete a short-lived triumph for Justinian, with the expiring

strength of the Roman arms, which a century later yielded these conquests to the Arabs.

From the great Gibbel, which casts off numerous branches coastward into Tripoli, and round the minor Syrtis into Tunis, as well as other ramifications which fall below Ghadams, and the waddy Lajal of the Sahra, the great Atlas chain in its easterly course makes a considerable southing on passing above Fezzan, varying in distance from the sea below the shores of the greater Sirtis from one to three hundred miles.

These are called the Soda or Black mountains, and they penetrate the Thebi or Theboo country under the name of the Hamra, or Red mountains.

The course further eastward inclines, it is said, so far to the south, that it covers the northern frontier of the kingdom of Waddai, which its ramifications penetrate everywhere, Warra, the city of its Sultan, being, like Jerusalem, a mountain fastness, and this is the metropolis of the Thebi, or tribes called Tibboo on our maps.

From Waddai the Atlas inclining still to the south and east is said to enter Foor, or Darfoor, and passing the frontiers of the Berber districts,

and Kordofan, either terminate at the Bahar Abyad in the latitude of about fourteen degrees north, or they run still further towards the Equator parallel to this branch of the Nile, in which case they would pass the confines of Beggarmi, and intersect the countries of the Shuah and the Gales, or Shingali tribes.

It is in the Gibbel Hamra, at ten days journey from Merzouk, the capital of Fezzan, that the once important waddey, or river called Ghazel had its source, the stream from which being supplied by occasional falls of rain on the slopes of those mountains, spread into extensive sheets of water caused by the overflow of its embankments at various points on the course; this stream extended to the eastern branch of the Nile or Abyad, which it joined in about the latitude of twelve degrees north, or near the limits assigned to that part of the country of the Shingali subjects of Abyssinia, where the Falashas or Falasjau, formerly of the mountains of Samen, are now said to be located, and dwell among the Shilooks, who together pasture their cattle on the banks of the Abyad.

The importance of the Ghazel relates but to the

imposing character it once exhibited ; for it is well authenticated that about eighty years ago its source failed, and having been gradually drying since then, even the pools or lakes it supplied are now exhausted, and the bed of this waddy serves to some extent but as the high road for caffilas and merchants, to and from Tripoli or Fezzan, to Waddai Abyssinia and the eastern coasts of Africa, or the southern coasts of Arabia : occasionally only, water is found at the depth of a few feet.

A diagram, therefore, of the whole chain of the Atlas, called also the Kaff, as resting upon native authority, gives to those mountains an extent exceeding 4000 miles ; and I may add, from personal observation in parts of the chains, as well as from an intercourse of many years with countries through which they run, Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, &c., their extremity and their centre, that there seems to be no room for questioning the accounts given by all travellers of their eastern course and southern inclination.

A considerable part of the range which falls down to the Sahra is desolate, without springs, and

unrefreshed, or rarely so, by showers. Many of the mountains are volcanic, of which some are in activity. Such is the case with the Shaft el Abd, which lies between El Kusha and El Marada, below the bottom of the greater gulf of Sirtis; and it is to these regions the Arabs resort from all parts in order to collect sulphur, as they do also saltpetre at Muzouk for making their gunpowder. It merits observation also, that a region or continuation of sea and land to the full extent of 1,500 miles south of the volcanoes of Vesuvius, Stromboli, Etna, and of that spot near the channel of Malta, where a volcano rose to sink again into the deep sea during my sojournment in Tripoli, and may claim reflection upon it that this part of the globe in particular seems to support the theory which some astronomers or philosophers teach concerning the "crust" we tread upon and the fires beneath it. For beginning at the Gulf itself, called by the Arabs Joun el Kebrit, or Brimstone gulf, from the yield it gives, including the islands at the bottom of it, also known as the Sulphur Islands; these coasts furnish considerable stores to the shipping. So as regards

the Sirt and those districts adjoining to it called Marada, Zafran, El Khusha, El Bei, El Hamed, El Meirnoun, and some other localities, the soil is every where charged with this mineral, till at the distance of nearly 300 miles from the sea, or ten days journey further south, it may be collected under the range of the said volcano of the main Atlas, called the Shaft el Abd, as well as on the slopes of many other mountains beyond it, which are also said to be volcanoes, occasionally active.

Although sterility is the general feature that prevails over all that part of the Atlas which falls below the parallel of twenty-eight degrees of latitude, for this is nearly the average limits to which the clouds of the Mediterranean reach, yet such is not universally the case; some spots yielding water, or preserving this element many months, in hollows or valleys formed by the peculiar construction of the adjacent slopes or valleys, which sometimes cast off torrents into the waddeys, with fearful impetuosity.*

* Among various instances which might be related, is that of the wad El Heira, which flows from the Gharian Mountains, at forty-five miles distance from Tripoli, and which, having been absorbed during the space of nearly two centuries in the

Those parts of the Soda and Hamra Atlas which possess not these advantages, reckon but as the rest of the Desert, and are rarely or never frequented. But in the lower districts of the Theboo country, approaching the Negro States, the character of sterility is entirely superseded by a natural fecundity, which it is said clothes them in as many charms as are seen in the Green mountains—the Gibbel Akhdar of the Sàad or Cyrenaica.

Cyrenaica or Krenna, according to the universal belief of the Orientals, is the celebrated garden of terrestrial happiness, or of the Hesperides; and the name Saàdi indeed, and the description given of the beauty of this land by some travellers, would appear to justify this belief. Tributary to Egypt, or to Babylonia, in those early ages when the Ammonites settled in the land, and when we

soil, never reaching the sea in that interval, re-opened its old channel in the year 1831, when standing Palms and other trees grown to maturity in this period, tents, camels, inhabitants, and their flocks, glided along as upon a raft. Much destruction was caused; the flooding caused by the heavy rains that season reaching many miles beyond the bed of this waddey.

may suppose the Greeks, from its vicinity, became acquainted with it before the voyage of Jason, the upper coasts, or Pentapolis, from the number of cities erected in it, was distinct from the lower regions, or the two Barkas, as they are still called, (the Bieda and Hamra) and the Sirt, wherein those colonists erected an innumerable number of cities, whose shapeless ruins still encumber the soil.

Nothing can be more erroneous than the impressions concerning many of these places, which we have imbibed from the accounts given by the ancients. Sallust, in particular, is greatly in error respecting the gulf and land of the Sirtis: neither is Herodotus an exception, great as he is in some things, of which the existing evidence affords a proof. Of the former author, be it observed, that the navigation of the Sirtis gulf is by no means of the frightful description given of it; but having good anchorage and shelter, it is commonly visited by the mariner in all parts. Exposed, indeed, to gales from the north, navigators conversant with this gulf, either drop anchor under the western shores below Ras

Hharah, or they run boldly to the islands at the bottom, called Palm and Sulphur. The ancients were fond of such fables, hence we have their Scylla and Charybdis, with rocks of the Sirens, &c.

As to the countries around the gulf, this author is still more unhappy in his description of a soil, which supported, and still supports the descendants of the Ammonites, as it once supported the population of so many Greek towns and villages. The corn of the Sirt is inferior to none produced elsewhere, and such is the luxuriance of the grass at maturity, which induces the Arabs to resort to those pastures, that even on horse-back a clear horizon is not always to be obtained, and the waddeys are much larger and more numerous, than can be found anywhere between Cape Carthage and the Nile of Egypt. If then water and a generous soil are ingredients of fecundity in that sunny land, those countries, which receive also the outpourings of the wintry clouds, are at least as favoured as the generality of lands in that latitude. It is true that devoid of trees, and its coasts encumbered with enormous

hills of drifting sand, from the sea-side, in summer especially, the appearance is wild and desolate; and it is also conceded, that occasionally the passage across this gulf is attended with some danger from the Tra-montana wind, and set of the current, disabling ships through the struggle to get out rather than run for shelter, as those acquainted with the place always seek to do.

The principal districts between Tripoli and Egypt, through which the tides of emigration have so often flowed from Asia into Africa, by the route north of the Atlas and the passes of Suez, the Nile, Barka, or el Khusha, including the mountains of Lebda and Benoleid, are Mesurata, or El Kanafia, the metropolis of the Cyniphus, now a ruin, El Henshir, the Sirt, and the mountains of Benoleid, which cover that pass, Zemzem Sofagin, or Tourgha, Marada El Khusha, and Barka, the Green Mountains of Saàdi, or the districts of Augela and Jalou, those of Timim el Mera-mer or the Marmarica, the Gibbel Akbah, Gerdoba and Siwah, or that of the far famed Temple of Jupiter Ammon, now called Oum Beida, which ruin is nearly equi-distant from Cairo, Alexandria

and the magnificent port called Bomba, where the metropolis of Menelaus is believed to have stood. This distance, which may be estimated at about 300 miles, may be traversed by caffilas in ten days.

On this upper route many or most of the invasions of the Atlas provinces have occurred from the East, the wells and waddey being far more frequent, especially on approaching the Saàdi and Sirt. Herodotus himself either misleads us in these particulars, or he speaks but of the lower or inland path, when he describes the features of the country and the distance of water ; yet the tribes, besides Ammonites, of Kabayls, Orfelli, Augeli, Bilmi, and some others, still survive to attest his general knowledge however mixed with the marvellous, which, if credited by this author, also suited the age of society in which he lived, as it might have suited us up to the age when Shakspeare wrote. His description, however, of the embayment of the ship of Jason drifted by an irresistible north wind into the Triton of the Syrtis, the vow made and the extrication due to the God, are things reconcilable enough, divested but of the myth of bygone times. It is

most probable that the misconception of the text by modern authors, rendered that obscure which was plain and circumstantial before.*

Returning back to the Gibbel, and following its westerly course towards the Mauritanian districts, the names of the principal ranges of these mountains beginning on the side of Tripoli, are El Romea, Takban, Kikla, Efran, Lugsir, Fasatto, El

* Great as the authority of Dr. Shaw may be considered by many, to speak but upon one subject, I venture to assert that he was utterly mistaken in assigning the shores of the minor Syrtis Gulf as the seat of his lake and river Triton. Upon the knowledge acquired through a long residence on the spot, I can assert that no such lake or river exists there, nor would it be possible for the wind at north, and the set of the current at east, as it invariably runs, to blow a vessel without aid of canvass, from the Peloponnesus into that Gulf, as any one may judge for himself by examining a chart. It is Herodotus in this case who has been misunderstood, or misrepresented, for he is right in assigning the Greater Gulf south of Greece as the seat of a river or waddey, the Trattia, as the Arabs pronounce it, which after watering lands nearly 300 miles in its course, spreads into immense lakes in the winter, which form frightful quicksands as the waters subside. By the shifting of the sand hills on the beach, not only does the mouth of the Triton become closed in summer, but the same cause produces the same effect on the waddeys, Hamed, Bei, Meimon, Sofagin, and Zemzem, all watercourses in the Sirt of the first class which flow from this part of the Atlas, and drain the plains beneath.

Reaina, El Garadia, Termessa, Weifat, Legrig, Temisdar, Rehaibat, Gutturs, Unzier, Sheab, Nalout, Hoamit, Kabad, Tomzin, and Haraba.

These mountains passing through the country of the Mezzebi, cast off other branches towards Tlemsen and Tetuan, which accumulate in that great cluster known as the Rif, or Reef, as nearer to the pronunciation. The north eastern side of the Gibbel bears upon the Gharian, and these upon the Terhona and Imsalata mountains of Tripoli, which branch of the great chain terminates at the pass of Selin on the sea coast, near the cape and tomb of Sidi Abdalati, which overhangs the waddey Nagazza, and is distant from the Ras Sahun, or cape of the once proud city of Lebda, or Leptis, called the great, only ten miles. This part of the Tripoli chain is but one of many forks of the high Atlas which lean upon the sea. The main trunk falls down from the Gibbel, and separating the plain of Mesurata from that of Tripoli, encircles its metropolis and many other towns.

The central or inland route lies nearly upon the level of Coseir, or the Thebaid; this leads through the deserts of Berdoa, to the Hamra

Atlas, over which caravans pass to reach the lands of the Theboo, the waddeys Ghazel and Fezzan, Lajal, Ghadams, and Taffilet. By this road also great emigrations have poured into Africa, and it is still a road for intercourse with Egypt and Arabia often traversed by pilgrims to Mecca, &c. ; nor is the dearth of water great from November to February.

A third track is through Sennar and along the skirts of the south borders of the Sahra in the direction of Waddai, and Kanem, or Bilma, the land of the Tuarics, &c., to the Atlantic near the Bahar Andar, or Senegal.

Those clusters of mountains which, as before said, spread some hundreds of miles around, covering the frontiers both of Tunis and Tripoli, and extending to the Jerrid and Ghadams, viz., the Gibbel, have always been considered the great bulwark or barrier of the country westward of Carthage, and the mountains of Ben-oleid the pass or key leading to that natural fortress, whose elevation may average about 5,000 feet, although many parts are considerably higher. This character of the Gibbel rendered

it from the earliest time a chief object of invaders or emigrants entering from the east to gain a footing on these central heights, which then became a rendezvous for the accumulation of numbers sufficient to spread their conquests along the Atlas, as did the Tuarics and some of the Kabayles of Canaan. Organized armies, however, Babylonian, Egyptian, Arabian, Carthaginian, Roman or Vandal, are thought never to have made any permanent conquests in these mountains, although by treaty some Arab tribes have been admitted into a union which has some resemblance to that of Switzerland, for the Gibbel is a particular sort of military confederacy.

After the second occupation of Africa and expulsion of the Vandals, the Roman governor of Carthage attempted the invasion of these mountains, but the penalty of that act was life and the destruction of his army, the survivors of which war, or of this battle in particular, were allowed to settle on one link of the chain which still bears their name, being called the Romea; so says a tradition which finds some support in the work of Procopius also.

The Sheich of this republic is Ghoma ben Khalifa, chief of the Mehammid, who was inveigled into the power of the Turks, and held many years in exile at Trebizond. From this he recently escaped back to the Gibbel and again defies his enemies. His ancestors were Sultans of that country, and after its conquest by the Turks about the time of Barbarossa, the Porte granted a firman in which the independence of those tribes was acknowledged.

On the side of Benoleid, the tribes owe allegiance to the chief descended from Abd Jellel ben Gheit ben Seif En'nasser, Sheich of the Suleimani, a race of high distinction, with whom the Emperors of Morocco form marriage contracts or alliances.

The limit of Roman authority in this neighbourhood is almost traceable from the great efforts it cost those people to carry the war into the Jerid only, and besiege Capsa, Toza, &c., towns from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles from the sea. The march of this army appears to have been through the Byzacena, by a road above the ancient Thisdri, now the village of El Jem,

which covers a part of those ruins and marks the site of its amphitheatre. After that great battle on the plain of El Kanafia, which terminated in the triumph of the Arabs and the destruction of the Roman authority in the seventh century, so shortly after it had become consolidated for the second time in Africa, on the dispersion of the Vandals,* and after the fall of Leptis, it is worthy of reflection that these sons of Ismail, and their willing allies in Africa, avenged and restored a persecuted faith, viz., Arianism, or a kindred persuasion ; for in no essential degree did the spiritual law of the Vandals differ from those institutions of the Koran, which the inhabitants of the plains accepted from the Arabs without

*Dispersion, rather than destruction, is the better word to use, for however it may surprise the reader to gain tidings of these people after their expulsion by Bellizarius from Carthage, now thirteen centuries ago, yet it seems certain they are a nation still ; and although divided into tribes still retaining that name, so far as the Arabian tongue and alphabet can express it, which is familiar to us in distinguishing a race who invaded the Roman provinces from the side of Spain. This name is Wandali. They are Moslems, and now pasture their flocks in the lower part of the Sahra among the Theboo. It is also said that other tribes of these people inhabit the country of the Tuaries.

demur, as also did numerous tribes of the Jews.

The principal plain below the Gibbel, and following that chain of the Atlas which has been shown to form a bold cape near the splendid remains of Leptis, and which is enclosed on the east by the Terhona and Imsalata mountains, is called Jiffara. It is one hundred and fifty miles in length, varying from forty to nearly seventy miles in breadth; and on its sea margin among other towns is that of the metropolis of Tripoli.

A very extensive portion of this plain is now a vast accumulation of drifting sand hills, and this desert, which is sixty-five miles long, is in some parts full twenty-five miles broad. Tradition assigns to it the age of about nine centuries; prior to which it had no existence, but in the time of the Romans was a productive and populous district, proof of which is seen on the shifting of those hills from place to place when relics of their buildings are occasionally laid bare, as well as trunks of trees, &c. This forms the eastern side.

The western plains, which run under the more elevated parts of the Gibbel, spread behind the old city of Tripoli, Zwara, the gulf of Gabs, and reach the confines of Jerriid ; from the neighbourhood of which, at distances which vary from two to six days journey from that gulf, two large forks of the Gibbel are known to run to the north through the whole length of Tunis, of which the outer or western branch, and the fortress of Kaff erected upon it, form the ramparts on that frontier which overlooks the Algerine territory.

A very large extent of these mountains, both in Tunis and Algiers, is inhabited by Kabayles, of whom some are descended from armed colonists or emigrants, Canaanites among the number, whose entrance into Africa dates from ages so early it may be presumed that there are no records which would suffice in fixing a time approximate to such an event, for some are supposed to have emigrated from Asia while the cities of the plain were yet exempt from the fiery judgment which consumed them. This, however, is not the case with others, Jews as well as idolators, who as warriors, or as supplicants

for land to cultivate or for pasture, obtained a footing within these natural ramparts.

In proof that the habits of these people are unchanged from the age when Herodotus lived, as also that many of them differ from customs which distinguish the Arab race, so far corroborating their claim to another descent, (although a few now use the dialect of Arabia,) is, that they neither reside in tent nor house, but burrow in the sides of mountains, whole families living in these caves as crudely as do those savage tribes who inhabit the opposite extremity of this continent, or the land at the Antipodes, and this but at a day or two's sail from countries of Europe, whose populations vaunt the refined character of their intelligence and civilization.

Although the eye is no longer offended by the graven image, emblem of the ancient worship of these Kabayles, yet the things we behold in these as in other countries of the Atlas remote as well as near, attest too plainly what we may know without, it viz., that the yearning will linger after the idol has departed; and this is conspicuous in all the actions of a race, whose form of religious wor-

ship differs but little from the practice of some of those rituals which we behold in Ashanti and kingdoms adjacent, where libations are poured on the earth to gods or spirits, and propitiatory offerings of all descriptions are placed in high-ways and bye-ways—where charms and tokens are suspended on certain classes of trees held sacred or select, and blood, the blood of animals 'tis true, contributes to nourish their growth. Unconquered and unconquerable as these mountain races were found to be in general by the Babylonian, Egyptian, Phœnician, Carthaginian, Roman, Vandal, Arab ; not yielding even to that mighty power which at Baghdad extended a sceptre from the Ganges to the Atlantic, or yielding but temporary service in the field as paid auxiliaries, those, it is repeated who may know these Kabayles and their fastnesses, must still view with doubt or uneasiness even the successes which have attended the arms of our gallant and powerful neighbours, the French, in that portion of the Atlas whose defiles became accessible to their arms only through the effect of a feeling too common in human affairs,

and often too fatal to happiness and security, whether as may regard a kingdom or an individual.

It is not generally known that the war which the Emir Abd el Kader waged so long against the French in Algiers, might have proved exceedingly disastrous, if not fatal to that power in Africa. One thing only was wanted in the year 1845 to render that great insurrection of the Arabs and Kabayles truly formidable, as is well understood in Morocco, where I gained information on this subject, which I reported to Lord Aberdeen on my return home. It wanted but a degree of confidence in the Emperor Mulai Abderahman, sufficient to allay that jealousy of the power and popularity of Abd el Kader, which seemed, if the tribes should triumph over their enemies, to endanger his own authority, and threaten the throne of Morocco with a change of dynasty!!! Hence, while the French were on their march to the Melouia river, Abd el Kader suddenly descended the mountains about Islay, and claimed the co-operation of the Maroqueen army then encamped, warning the son of the Emperor, their commander, that mutual success

and mutual safety depended upon that measure, for the French were at hand and would not let slip such an opportunity to attack even an army of observation on their own territory, as in fact they did surprise, attack, and disperse this army on the field of Islay after Abdel Kader had failed in his endeavour to form that alliance. Had he succeeded the whole interior would assuredly have been on foot, and the battle might have been fought much nearer to Algiers than Islay. Abd el Kader struggled alone, and the rest is known.

It is in those branches of the Atlas which penetrate Tunis that some Kabayles may be found of mixed races, whereof a few are not only denominated Romi or European, but their complexions or the colour of their eyes, which are mostly of a grey cast, denote their descent from a northern stock. Yet the bulk of these tribes are unquestionably descended from the Asiatics, Phrygian, Phœnician, Phœcean, in addition to the Canaanite, Arab, and other emigrant people from the East, fill the upper mountains still; and the Zwoui, or Suevi, as they are believed to be the descendants from, are the most numerous

among those who seem entitled to the claim of an European descent. And probably the next in pretension are the Hunni, or Woled-Hune, the latter said to be the descendants of those Huns who formed part of the army led by Bellizarius against Carthage.

As it is not designed to introduce in these limits more than the mere mention of tribes foreign to the substance of this discourse, or who, living in the vicinity, may claim a relative notice, I shall observe only that if the Suevi who invaded Italy in 457 did not enter Africa on the side of Sicily and Carthage, it is probable that as this nation and the Alans were settled in the west of Spain in the beginning of that century, they entered after the Vandals, and by the same passage.

The Zwoui are a formidable and numerous people, as many of the Pachas both of Tunis and Algiers experienced to their cost. The resuscitation of a name, if the same as supposed, which made Rome itself tremble in the day of their strength, and its baptism at a novel font of glory, will strike the reader on learning that

he who first entered or planted the standard of France on the ramparts of the Crimean Troy, the tower of the Malakhoff, bore the revived name of Zwoui, or Suevi; this time fighting for the preservation, not the destruction of the Romi. This is the explanation. That heroic division of the French army called Zouaves or Zuaves, derive that appellation from the people spoken of, who were originally selected and formed into an auxiliary legion, officered, I believe, by Frenchmen; now it is said that all are French.

Such is the great Gibbel, a natural fortress of enormous extent, much of it table land of various elevations, and approachable but by narrow ravines, to arrive at which, from the East, the two great passes of the Benoleid and Lebda mountains must be forced at the distance of from one hundred to one hundred and forty miles easterly of the Gibbel, before the plain of Jiffara and its Ramel or Desert could be contested, or that great fastness approached, whose garrison, being a collection of tribes, is innumerable, with all their wants in

reach, and the resources of the Sahra behind ; so that if united these tribes might probably defy the greatest conquerors, as they actually have in ancient times defied those powers who acquired a footing by sea, and still they defy the approach of armies, and the authority of the local governments whether of *Tripoli, Tunis, or Constantinople.

Finally, what the Gibbel is in regard to central Africa, the Atlas of the Rif between Tetuan and Meguinez, and the Atlas of Morocco and Suse, are also with respect to the west of Africa. Although effectually preserving the integrity of these lands against the power of monarchs, yet the tribes in general have suffered more than one severe shock from the inroads of strangers, who, emigrating from Asia have by conquest seated themselves

* Since that war for the succession in Tripoli which ended in the displacement of the Caramanli Dynasty and the appointment of a Pacha under the Sultan, the arms of the Osmanli, after many severe contests, gained a footing on some of the lower mounts. The tribes, who are known as the Mehammid, then fought at a great disadvantage, their chief being at the time a prisoner in exile at Trebizond. This temporary success cost the Sultan dear in the end, and again these tribes stand in an attitude of defiance.

in various parts of the chain. Among these strangers the emigrants from Canaan hold a conspicuous place ; and such is the antiquity claimed that many or most of the tribes are believed to have preserved the names with which they entered the land. The only observations I would hazard on this subject are, that besides difference of customs, &c., those names assuredly are not of an Arabian texture, and several of these tribes or nations were known to Herodotus. Some appear to have removed from the neighbourhood of the Gibbel, and either to have effected new conquests or acquisition of land nearer to the Atlantic; where they became very powerful, or they were dispersed and have left but a name to commemorate their achievements, which name in some instances has descended to posterity in the land they once occupied, or the towns they built upon it.

CHAPTER II.

Remarks in Ancient African History—Oriental Traditions—Migratory tendency of Asiatic Races—Africa the Land of Witchcraft—Distinct from Asia only in Name—How Peopled—The Faith of Islam—Great rising among the Kabayles of the Mauritanian provinces—Flow of the Western tide of Population—The Vandal Invasion—The Movement of the Foulahs—Their Power and Influence—The reason why the Arabs are the most successful of all Conquering Races.

It has been a subject of surprise to some, that while an interest is kept up which stimulates the energies of the traveller to make researches into the state of things to be found in Africa at this day, that the same interest is not made to embrace at least some portion of its ancient history, and the early destinies of a continent and of populations stationary or transitory, past or

existing. Saving our gleanings of Egypt from sacred writings, and our gleanings of Cyrene and Carthage principally from old and imperfect authorities among the Greeks and Romans, we know little more in this direction. We know indeed the marginal extent of this continent, and that the same knowledge was acquired by the Phœnicians, Persians, and Egyptians, as probably by the Carthagenians also, considerably more than twenty centuries before the wonders of a navigation in two hemispheres and two torrid regions were re-explored and opened to the nations of the earth by the Portuguese.

But that Africa in its interior was even better known to those Oriental nations than in its external form, is at least credible upon the testimony of histories, or traditions, and the evidence of things existing upon its surface, if looked for, or esteemed worthy to be collected. This southern and eastern field in such case is open to the antiquarian, and a plentiful harvest might be gathered from it to counterbalance the knowledge we possess, of the in-pourings of the northern Asiatic tribes in the upper Mediterranean or

European states and districts, which harvest needs but the gathering in, for no people can exceed, if rival, some of these Orientals in preserving genealogical records, not even exempting those of the horse and camel. And surely a difference of faith can form no obstacle to our credence in the records of a people whose civilization is only of another order; and whose words and writings, divested but of points and myths inseparable from what belongs to their theological works, and astrological belief, are in no respect different from our own, or from the form of expression and the intelligence belonging to other classes of the European family, however cultivated in mind.

Africa, standing as it were at our own doors, is a neglected land, or valued in the age which may be called that of its rediscovery but by one people, the Portuguese, whose knowledge of it we still appreciate.

There is a tendency amongst Asiatic races of men to exchange their original inheritances for others, either peacefully as emigrants and settlers, or by force of arms as rulers in

the more westerly, and, by preference, the more southerly regions of the earth. And this tendency, or inclination to remove, irresistible at intervals from the effect of various causes besides ambition,* has abated nothing since a "new world" was discovered in the remote west, where expectant dynasties and people welcomed, or yielded to the weapons of the children of the rising Sun, as in the days when Mexico and other transatlantic cities opened their gates, and submitted to those descendants of the eastern gods, who came from the ocean, as it had been predicted in their temples.

The pressure of tribes against the gates as it were both of Africa and Europe, was felt to be more or less intense, as the states whose geogra-

* When Denmark, in the plenitude of its power, ten centuries ago, effected so many conquests and ravaged so many countries of Europe, or swayed their destinies, a law was enacted, from the scarcity of subsistence, for every ninth man able to bear arms to assemble together, and properly equipped, to emigrate in hordes, or legions, by land or sea, to colonize and conquer, of course, the soil they should light upon. The Vandal emigrations, among so many others, and the final settlement of these people in Spain and Africa, probably arose from similar causes.

phical situations conferred upon them the guardianship of those eastern passes—the Hellespont, Bosphorus, Danube, or Nile, might happen to be in vigour, in embarrassment, or in decay. The Mediterranean Sea causing that vacuity between lands of which it is the natural basin, forced those invaders, while yet standing on the soil of Asia, to make a selection between the sister continents of the west, for the inheritance they might be in search of.

Africa is coeval with the earliest of all records, for besides the knowledge we derive from its connexion with Egypt, the Ark, according to the Orientals, floated over a part of its surface, propelled by lofty billows, when vainly and in anguish the patriarch Noah cried, “Oh my son! come unto me and remain not with the unbelievers; for there is no salvation by the decree of God, except through his mercy.” It grounded, says the Ethiopian, on or near where the lake Tchad now stands; and solid rocks, according to some authorities, still denote the spot where the patriarch first set foot on land, which still preserves the corrupted sound of his name, i.e. Bornou, implying the land of Noah.

In another view, Africa is, above all other regions on this planet, a storehouse of marvellous things, exceeding the belief, however, of the present. The power of its necromancers and magicians it is contended is the same as in the days when Moses, among other miracles, cast his rod before Pharoah, which became a serpent, and the magicians did the same by a craft which succeeded, yet failed in all we may suppose but its delusion of the senses. It is the land of witchcraft, necromantic spells, and cabalistic writings still, and astrology, judicial and all other, belong to a catalogue of obscure agencies by which practitioners can wind their way to the deep caverns of the earth through the bowels of mountains, or the beds of rivers and lakes, in search of hidden treasure, and brave or charm the presiding spirits, as we read of that African magician, who, to recover a talisman to which the Genii were obedient, invited customers to exchange old lamps for new in the streets of Baghdad.

The Orientals, it is sufficiently known, fully believe in celestial and other intelligencies who lie

concealed in desolate places, and occasionally infuse themselves into "children of clay," like the Ghoul, the Genii, the creations of fire as well as of clay, the spirits of the great deep, as well as of rivers, pools, solitary places, inhabitants beneath the surface, &c. African faith in the marvellous is indeed next to unlimited. El Kanemy, late Sheich of Kanem, or of the Kanemboos, and protector of Bornou, assumed that he had among his charms one which would dry up the blood of his enemies; wither or petrify them in fact like the head of Medusa; another which insured invulnerability in battle, and a third invincibility, and his troops fought bravely and confidently in this belief. So I have known in other corresponding cases and in other African countries, where these sort of charms have been carried into battle and displayed to the army; and so the case may be with the prophet warrior Schaymil, for the children of the great prophet are the same as they were when the popular works of the Arabians were written, to go no further back, and the proof of this has been recently seen by the readers of

Oriental researches in those "Travels of an Arab Merchant in Waddai Foor, &c.," of recent publication.

It is in the Ethiopic part of Africa especially where all that was, or is, monstrous and mysterious in the creation, past or present, might be looked for, or can still be traced, as the civilization which prevailed in former ages, and still prevails.

To disturb more than the upper surface of the earth by the plough-share, would be to disturb genii, and other creations of fire, whose abode is under it, and may not be violated without the risk of that vengeance which we attribute to pent up vapours, or other natural causes. Hence, even gold is collected, superficially from water-courses, or at most in holes or shallow pits, after due libations to the presiding spirit. It is hopeless to expect, therefore, that what remains may exist of an earlier creation under this soil, will ever be brought to our knowledge.

Africa is distinct from Asia only in name, for reckoning its freemen, it is actually peopled by none, or comparatively next to none, but Asiatics

or their descendants, from its Mediterranean coast to its indefinite frontier on the side of Ethiopia, which has not yet been traced, and which includes both hemispheres, and probably two-thirds or more than this of the entire soil.

The name it now bears is, indeed, nearly as vague and as ill-chosen, to express the whole, as that which has been accepted for the sister continent we call America, and figuratively, if not absurdly, a new world. It was the name of a mere province, Frikia, that usurped the place of one the more appropriate, because more ancient, although also local name, viz., Lybia, Lebida, or Lebda, as it is still called, i.e. the land of the Lubims, or Lehabims of Holy Writ.

The Roman name is merely borrowed from that of the Oriental people, who first settled upon the shore where Carthage was afterwards built, and the whole district or province, one of the most extensive and the richest in the territory of Tunis, still bears that name, being pronounced by its natives Frikia, which denotes the land of the Friki or Phrygians, and which, by Roman corruption, became Africa.

Embracing as Africa does seventy degrees of space on the globe each way out of the vast surface contained within a sea margin which comprises 16000 miles, more than two-thirds of that territory form the patrimony of strangers or their descendants. However, we may reconcile the name we have accepted for this continent, it is Asiatic, being borrowed from Frikia, i.e. Phrygia, the inhabitants of which, having been incorporated with the Lydian empire, shared its doom about 560 years before Christ, while their memory still floats over one of the largest spaces of earth, and is likely to be perpetuated to the end of time.

Besides armies, the influx into Africa of tribes from the East, Arabs included, long before the Hejira, is attested by those tribes. In asking for land, lance in hand, which was rarely refused, they committed no act which, as emigrants, could be construed into a menace in such a country. Few and partial appear to have been those hostile movements, which led occidental races to invade the East.

Pharoah Necho, indeed, marched to the

Euphrates to join battle with the Assyrians. He destroyed Josiah and his army, took Jerusalem, and put the land under tribute, contrary to his inclination, to attack the Jews. There, however, ended this eastern march, for he retraced his steps to Egypt, and the reaction of this success brought Nebuchadnezzar from the East to Jerusalem, to despoil what the Egyptians had spared in Judea, even to the removal of its inhabitants. Egypt stirred not in defence of that territory which formed her chief or only bulwark against a nation she afterwards dreaded, and often bowed to in vassalage; and this, it is asserted, long before that epoch when Nebuchadnezzar reduced King Jehoakim to servitude, after dispossessing the Egyptians of all the land to those borders of Egypt the most exposed and the most valuable part of his frontier: "and the King of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the King of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that appertained to the King of Egypt." 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

Among uprisings, or reactions of the West,

and spread of power or influence to the Asiatic borders, that of the Carthaginian state can scarcely be included, for by land it extended to the gulf of the greater Syrtis only, but not further east. The Roman power, which succeeded that of the great African Republic, and at length environed an entire sea, failed, and as often quailed under attempts to penetrate to the core the elements of Asiatic power. The subsequent conquest and occupation by the Vandals, was a triumph short lived, which was succeeded by another Oriental reaction, when the Eastern government of Rome, in the reign of Justinian, recovered what it considered to be its own in Africa. But this triumph was also short, for the fall of the Arians was amply avenged by all those tribes of Eastern Kabayles, the Wandali or Vandals included, who, it is admitted, cheerfully embraced the faith of Islam, and swelled out the armies which, not for the first time, were led into it from Arabia. These in a few years annihilated the last vestige of Roman power on the level lands, and rolled back upon the ocean and into the southern extremities of

Europe, that eastern tide which had been so long pent up, or so successfully resisted by the Romans when emigrant tribes entered within their jurisdiction.

Three centuries after Islamism had spread into the interior of Africa on the side nearest to the Indian Ocean, that great rising took place among the Kabayles of the Mauritanian provinces which, it is affirmed, had been prophetically announced under an allegory that the sun would rise in the west in the year of the Hejyra three hundred, or about the tenth century of Christianity. This outburst, which commenced against Arab supremacy in the land, was the resumption of national Kabayle authority, and it terminated in the re-establishment of a western Khalifat at Kairawan.

However opinions may differ on points regarding Africa, its geography, people, &c., even the detractors of Herodotus must acknowledge the material evidence he offers of the extension of the Asiatic authority over a considerable portion of this continent. He has shown that even after the empires on the Tigris and

Euphrates had waned, still fleets and armies of succeeding dynasties controlled the destinies of Egypt. So supported the Asiatics were able to reach the Cyrenaica, and after a siege of some duration, to capture the metropolis of Barka. This author too, has claims upon posterity for his description of the colonization of the same districts.

The flow of the western tide of population, viz. the Kabayle reaction, upon the Arabs in the century of Christianity before named, exhausted itself within the limits of the African soil. It had been stemmed by the resources of an eastern Khalif, whose inheritance was still that power which the Babylonians had established and had exercised according to the Orientals over Arabia and Africa entire for a lengthened period, while Egypt was a vassal state as now.

Hence this march to the eastward, which also ceased midway. It was a reconquest of lands the Arabs were accused of having wrongfully taken from the Kabayles, and a reorganization and distribution of power, the greater share of

which those tribes preserved to themselves for a period.

What is related of these times would clearly exhibit the formidable character of the same races, who, under the name of mercenaries or auxiliaries, had often brought the Carthaginian state, as Polybius relates, to the brink of ruin by their feuds and hostilities.

It was the same people who, according to native authority, invaded Spain with the Arabs in the seventh and eighth centuries, and who so rapidly secured that conquest.* The reaction of things upon the Arabs, of which mention has been made, is acknowledged to have been a judgment justly inflicted for their pride and abuse of power.

The Vandal invasion was restricted to the upper coast, and lasted but a term before the eastern reaction set in again. During nearly two centuries the strength of eastern and central Europe was repeatedly dragged to the plains of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, &c.; but vain were all

* Vide work called "El Mirayat," written by Sidi Hamdon ben Ali Khoja, treasurer of the last Dey of Algiers.

hopes of conquest: the spirit alone of these Crusades forbade success—so that no wonder the eastern tide of conquest should speedily return as it did with irresistible force and action. It was reserved for those Tartars and Mongols, who, under the posterity of Ghengis Khan subverted so many empires besides that of the eastern Khalif, to blot out the weakened elements of western Asia, only to invigorate the power of this continent. The western part of Africa became paralyzed from this convulsion, and benumbed by the loss of Egypt.

What united Europe failed to accomplish in Palestine, during all those ages, wherein it is said 200,000,000 of human victims fell in those contests, the Tartars effectually completed in little more than a single age.

The last important movement of the West against the East seems to be that of the Fellatahs or Foulahs, a people of whom our knowledge, although but scanty, is yet enough to assure the certainty that the movement is local, and if it were ever to carry the Fellutah arms across the continent, this is the most that could be produced

from elements which carry dissolution within themselves. Enough, indeed, is known of these people, to warrant a belief, that although ambition is the true source, yet the war-cry of this nation, like that which kindled the furious zeal of the Puritan among ourselves, has no grasp upon the feelings, or the intelligence of the influential and intellectual portion of society in this age, and therefore, the principle can spread no farther than the Negro states, for whom that principle was conceived. It would be too crude and too absurd to carry among Arab populations of the Sahra, like that of the avenger Mahedi who raised his family to the throne of Morocco. It is besides too stringent as well as too selfish to claim that respect which obtained for the great reformer, Abd el Wahad, that extraordinary degree of success which conferred upon his arms, what Mahomed himself only succeeded in obtaining by negotiations in the end, viz., the Imaunship, or protectorate of the Harem el Horoumin, or of Mecca itself.

As the case stands with the Fellatah, the Moslem princes of the south are accused by the

self-styled purifier of the law Ali ben Mahomed Bellou, Sultan of the Fellutahs, of a disinclination to spread the faith of Islam among the Jobert or ignorant idolatrous tribes of Ethiopia, who, indeed, constitute a large portion of the subjects of such princes. The value of these subjects to the state in the slave market fosters this cupidity, say the Fellatahs, by whose effect the propagation of the faith it is maintained, becomes retarded, and the diffusion of that law, (which, but for this impediment would have been universal ages back,) impeded not by the idolator, but by the true believer himself, to the dishonour of God, and the scandal of Islami. So rests the question like any other problem, the solution of which depends more upon the sword than upon the moral or religious weight of the argument among princes and their subjects, whose interests are in many instances inseparable from the tranquil government of those unenlightened mountain tribes of Ethiopia.

It was a saying of the late Sultan Mahmoud, the father of the present Sultan, of the Ottomans, that of all conquering races the Arabs were the

greatest and the most successful, because the most clement and the most considerate for the rights of others. These conquerors said to the tribes of Atlas. " We have come not to dispossess you of your lands and goods, but to bring you a true revelation, to invite you to lay aside idolatry, and to unite with you in expelling our enemies, who are your tyrants, the Romans, strangers and oppressors of mankind.

CHAPTER III.

Africa as an asylum for roving tribes—The Sahara considered by some to have been once a sea—African Migrations—Babylonian occupation of Africa—The invasion of Canaan by the Israelites—Hhaiat el Hhaiwan and Tarikh el Kabaylan wo el Aarban—Neglect of Oriental literature—The Canary islands—Ascendancy of the Amorites in the Western Atlas—Peopling of South America by the Aymaric race—Races which penetrated to the Atlantic shores of Africa—Original Chronicles of the Tribes—Date of the immigration of the Eastern Tribes—The Colonisation of the Greeks—The Tuariki—The splendid Ruins near Lebda.

Africa, with reference merely to emigrations from the East and North East, from the earliest age to the present time, appears to have been considered in that light in which America is now ; its wilds and deserts especially always served as an asylum for the oppressed or roving tribes and defeated armies, whenever they could enter Egypt or cross the Nile forcibly, or by licence, which

was frequently granted to supplicants. To the Arabians this continent conveys, as it always has done, an idea of rich pasturage, and great fecundity in corn and all the fruits of the earth, vast space and freedom to roam in it from the Atlas to the confines of Nigritia : unless disposed to ask for land, which is rarely refused upon condition of paying the tithe or tenth in corn and cattle, and settling down as the peaceful subjects of the state.

In the time of the Abbaside monarchs the passage through Egypt was only granted by special favor, and that rarely, or under surveillance and restrictions which put limits to the numbers and locality ; because unlimited emigration produced disorder by disturbing property and encouraging war and conquest. The Khalifat, as a strong government, could thus equipoise the strength of tribes.

Those great hives of the human species, the central and remote regions of Southern Asia, so densely are they peopled, contribute to, if they do not occasionally cause this tendency to overflow, or press upon the western regions

of the globe. But if we should adopt ideas which prevail in Africa, these would lead to a conclusion that emigration was the natural effect of a far greater or more impulsive cause. It is affirmed to be an immutable and essential ordinance of the Creator, who, when He placed the sun and stars in the firmament, and directed their diurnal and apparent course from east to west, as also the prevailing winds, that mankind should be no exception to a law which was intended for peopling all the earth, and drifting the seeds and elements of vegetation among them from that central eastern region where our common parents were placed. To follow light and heat they contend is a natural impulse irresistible from the invigorating influence they are qualified to impart, even if artificial.

Thus do the Orientals reason on that drainage of Asia into Africa which, from the re-peopling of the earth after the deluge, has been a stream more or less continuous in search of subsistence. We know this to be confirmed by the presence of the human family both under the torrid and the frigid zones, amidst lagoons and marshes, as

well as on sterile and arid surfaces, like the deserts of sand, rock, and gravel, which as a phenomenon in nature has no parallel on earth.

Some recent traveller, who seems also to have visited the Sahara, offers an opinion that at one period the whole was a sea in connexion one may suppose both with the Atlantic and the sea of Arabia on the east, and that its waters in some way or other were dried up, or had receded from its bed. To say nothing of the Nile, which from the earliest among the records we can turn to, is seen to have traversed Egypt in its passage to the sea of Tarshih, (if this be the Mediterranean), and which could not have been the case if the hypothesis be a just one, besides those questionable points which regard the levels of the Sahara as compared with the levels of any of the above mentioned seas, many other reflections accrue which necessarily check a blinded confidence in such theory. Among these are the sterile character of large surfaces of elevated land, and mountain ranges free from sand, and apparently covered with an arable mould; the very great depth of many or most of the wells, and their distance

apart, which in some localities exceeds ten and twelve journeys, or between 200 to 300 miles.

Those inundations of the human family, which have been spoken of, were apparently of much more frequent occurrence in Africa formerly than they appear to have been in Europe, and tribes, of whom some were at least as formidable in numbers as those of the Israelites on quitting Egypt, impelled by various causes, poured in those tides upon a surface the peculiarity of whose geographical features may have required it, in harmony as it were with a corresponding principle of hydraulics in filling vacuities, or reconcilable with those powers given to animal life of some orders—to man above all—not to multiply only, but to disperse and spread over the dry land, wherever he should list, amidst chilling blasts, and sifting vapours.

The great change in the districts of central and northern Asia, since the time that systems of government prevailed which encouraged energy in the dense population it formerly contained, will probably account for the fewer instances of large tribes or nations emigrating, as in the time

of the Romans, with princes at their head, in search of land both in Europe and Africa. If a boon, the world owes this to the modern state of Scythia and its government.

We do not want to learn from the African that the Phoenecians were among the earliest colonizers of the coast, not of Africa alone, but of many other regions. But to be told that Babylonian conquest and occupation of this continent throughout at least its northern hemisphere occurred prior to this, may sound novel to the European; yet perhaps some scraps of history may still be found to cast a little light upon a subject of this interest. The records we possess seem but to shew that Egypt for the first time, yielded to the arms of Nebuchadnezzar about 570 B.C., and was a second time overrun and conquered by Cambyses, in 525 B.C.; whereas the Orientals contend, that Egypt had been invaded and became subservient both to Babylon and Nineveh many ages before the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Hence if any of the Pharaohs marched to India, as according to some authority, there is no ground for believing that the forces of Egypt and Africa,

of which the expedition was composed were engaged otherwise than as auxiliaries. Ahasuerus, whose palace was in Shushan, reigned, the Scriptures say, from India to Ethiopia, over 127 provinces, and he led the Ethiopians captive, to the shame, it is written, of Egypt. The reason of this dishonour was because in general estimation the monarch of Egypt stood in the relation of sovereign to the Ethiopian nations,—who we see, besides, by the paintings from Beit Koala and elsewhere, acknowledged his power and brought him tribute.* The magnitude and composition of those armies of Persians, which invaded Greece, among whom both the Arabian and Ethiopian contingents would seem to attest the existence of an age of Eastern authority or influence beyond the estimate made of this preponderance by ancient authors, must favor this belief. Even from the age when Sallust wrote it seems the world might have gathered light out of the fragments preserved from the flames of

* Esther iv. 1 and viii. 9. Isaiah xx. 4, 5, 6. "Shall the King of Assyria lead away the Ethiopians prisoners and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefooted, to the shame of Egypt."

Carthage, which, according to this author, tended to shew that the Babylonians or Persians were the first invaders and conquerors of Africa, and held the land in subjection many ages. Of these such as came by sea made their ships serve as a tent or covering at night.

As early as the Nimroud dynasty Africa, according to some traditions, acknowledged the supremacy of Asia and of Egypt, whose armies swept the length and breadth of the land, and whose navies encompassed its shore on all sides, subduing the islands as well as the continent, and conferring upon districts those names by which they are distinguished. Many of these, particularly in Soudan or Ethiopia are manifestly not of a native origin or generally used by natives in application to those countries. Such for instance are Kashna, Takrour, Housa, Ghunjah, Dagomba, Salgha Bousa, Soulimana, and numerous others, besides the names of some districts north of the Sahra.

In the Oriental list of eastern invasions and conquests of the soil of Africa, besides the Babylonians they speak of the Arabs and

many other Asiatic nations collected under the standard of that Soldier of God or of the Faith, Dhu el Karnein, the two-horned king of the Ammonites, as some contend, whose name and mission are recorded in the Koran itself. He was a righteous prince they contend, a Malek Sadek, or Melchisedek of the age he lived in, and therefore chosen to fulfil a mission they believe to have been divine.

Dhu l' Karneen was not in reality the name of this monarch, but it is a title perhaps the most ancient of any known, and may be classed with symbols in use among races of men who are widely separated by land and water, such as the Chinese and Caffers, to speak of those only who have preserved the symbol to our own times. It is meant to express honor, dignity, an elevated mind, &c. El Kroun, or El Karneen, the Horns, one or two, may be found as applied figuratively in more than one sense in the Scriptures, the book of Daniel in particular. Dhu l'Karnein, Malek Ammoni, or Malek l'Araban, as also Malek e'Sharek wo el Gharb, or Malek Ed Dounia; king of the children of Ismael

and Ammon of the east and west, or of the world, seem to be among the terrestrial titles accorded to this great conqueror, who besides, was glorified on earth with a spiritual distinction belonging to none but the inspired of Heaven.

He was the Solomon as well as the Joshua indeed of an age, when like that of the antediluvians, or later it is affirmed, the sons of God, his angels, or the gods themselves, according to the Greeks, walked with the children of men, when the spirits of fire, malign and seductive, deluded the children of clay ; when the earth was filled with pride, violence, lust, and all sorts of wickedness, as we find from the description :—"The earth was also corrupt before God and man, and the earth was filled with wickedness." Gen. vi. 5, 11. This was a conquest of mountains as well as plains, the whole Atlas included ; and this introduced the first Berrabers or Kabayles, who were succeeded not long after by great influxes of the same people. These entered Africa from the side of Yamen, and mounted that end of the chain of Atlas which falls upon the Nile, near its

confluence with the Bahar el Ghazel. By a gradual advance they marched to the other extremity on the Bahar ad Dlom, or Atlantic Ocean, being a people from beyond Arabia, which country they overran or conquered on their march; so says the legend.

These tribes seem finally to have settled down in some of the richer mountain districts of a country which, in imitation of the baptismal or foreign names conferred by the Babylonians and Egyptians upon the districts of Nigritia, also received names which still survive.

The country collectively is called by the Arabs in this age, simply the Kaff El Gharb, or the West, and those mountains which interlace it, are spread out in numerous chains from the side of the Mediterranean, which fall below El Khan-nouk, or We Noon, on the Atlantic, in about the latitude of 26° or 27° .

Of the Kabayles part, the Ite Bamaran, the Ite Aglou, and some others claim to have conquered or settled in the Canary Islands, as also in many other distant lands. A remnant of the same people are described as still living at the eastern

extremity of the Atlas near Dongola, or in that part of Nubia where the Nile enters it.

At no great distance of time, it is believed after the Ammonite or Berraber invasion, one or more great revolutions in the destinies of Africa were operating in other quarters, and chiefly along the northern plains and branches of the same mountains. These were the effects of invasion in the quarter of lower Egypt by those tribes from Canaan and the country adjacent, to the bulk of which tradition assigns an epoch which seems to correspond with the ages both of the Israelite bondage in Egypt, and of their conquest or settlement in the Land of Promise.

But previous generations, according to the same accounts, had contributed to people Africa with Asiatic and Egyptian emigrants. Some had fled from the effect of famine in the East, it is inferred, including, it is probable, at least that grievous dearth of seven years duration in the ages of Abraham and Joseph; the flight of others at a later date, had been the result of war and expulsion, as when Joshua, after turning the

defences of Canaan by marching along the borders of Moab, crossed the Jordan and penetrated the heart of the Promised Land by Jericho. No other lines were open for retreat or flight to the armies of those nations who vainly contested the soil, than a choice between the mountains of Lebanon and Syria, and the plains conducting to the eastern side of the Nile and its delta ; and accordingly, from preference or necessity, the latter chiefly, became the rallying ground of populations and scattered armies, who knew that their doom was death, without distinction of sex or age, and that safety depended but upon flight.

The settlement of some of these fugitives, both in Egypt and Arabia, where for indefinite periods of time, their posterity pastured their flocks or tilled the soil, and their occasional emigration, their wanderings in Africa, and conquests in and under the Atlas, are things which, think as we may, can neither change traditions nor the evidence belonging to them in Africa. Among the records attesting these facts, two are supposed to claim pre-eminence; the originals, of which these

are believed to be copies or abridgements, were written in the glorious ages both of the Eastern and Western Khalifat, one at Kairawan, the other at Baghdad, or Mossul, one called Hhaiat el Hhaiwan, the other Tarikh el Kabaylan woel Aarban.

Little stress need be laid upon some slight notices which other travellers may have gleaned on these subjects, not excepting that page in Procopius, wherein, if my memory does not fail, this author says, that while the army was on its march in pursuit of Gellimere, who was afterwards led captive to Justinian by his general Bellizarius, it halted near the Numidian frontier, where a sculptured stone was found whereon was written or engraved in Punic, i.e. Phœnecian characters, which nearly correspond with the Hebrew—"We are the remnants of those tribes who fled before that robber Joshua the son of Nun." These great emigrations, and the conquests resulting from them in Africa perhaps do not need external support; the internal evidence of things visible and tangible, being it is thought fully adequate to satisfy the mind in a general view, that events, which have this relation to spiritual matters interesting to

the world, are based upon testimony it would be difficult to refute ; nay, impossible to destroy, so far as the credence of those nations, or of the Oriental world, is concerned.

That our inclinations to cultivate the Orientals or their literature should be so feeble, or that the literary store-house of a bygone age of Greece principally, should be deemed all sufficient of itself for purposes applicable to the present age, discouraging by this patronage both faculty and desire to reap by study from fields of other civilization and renown far greater, or of greater extent and spirituality in its day than Greece or Rome could lay a claim to, is the more surprising, because we are the inheritors of an Oriental empire, the destinies of which, and of vast Oriental populations besides, who owe us no allegiance yet are linked to us by sympathies of another order, which are so imbued with principles pertaining to what concerns this nation, that I could, if needful, justify the expression by precedent, that the banner of either empire, the blended crosses, or the prophet's standard alike would serve to rally numerous

indomitable races in the countries spoken of, and lead them to the foremost ranks of war.

The greater reason then to slake our thirst at an existing fount of this vitality to half the nation, or to all, and as a suggestion which flows from other times and places, and is yet more applicable to the present, I venture to think and say that our tourists in particular, as men, many of whom represent our most influential families,* are by education doubtless better qualified than many would be to dive into matters which should render those tours both agreeable to themselves and profitable to others, while contributing both to literature and improvement of another kind: in

* The northern coast of Africa or Barbary is as classical as many dependencies of Greece or Rome, and among other visitors to Africa in my time, the Earl of Clarendon is believed to have been one who enjoyed an opportunity of seeing much in Tripoli, as elsewhere on those shores, and if memory is not at fault in recalling to mind the honor of a visit, even to the humble residence of a vice consul, in company with another illustrious name in England, Lord Robert Grosvenor, some reflections follow which, if foreign to the subject of this discourse, may be useful to recur to soon in other combinations of mind and matter. It is men like these, and like the Marquis of Waterford, another tourist round those coasts, upon whom even absorbing interests of their country may often hinge.

this might be also comprised collections on a past analogous to their own classical studies, and which the influence of rank and wealth would easily procure from the highest and most legitimate sources of information in those countries. And how much greater would be the claim to consideration, both while abroad and on their return home, if their time should be so engaged in preference to the mere routine of etiquette and superficial engagements or amusements of the hour, or the equally superficial narratives of a tour, which sometimes flow from intellects of solid worth and talent.

The claim of the tribes before named to the occupation and settlement of that race in the Canary Islands, and other distant lands, a race who so many ages afterwards became the prey of those merciless, self-styled sea-kings of Scandinavia or dependencies, which had belonged to her adventurers but a few generations past, and pirates of the age we live in, leaves it open to free conjecture that America may have owed a portion of its earlier races to the Kabayles of Canaan, embarked on the Atlantic from the opposite promontories of the

Atlas, whereof those islands, it may be permitted to observe, are protruding summits of the chain above the waters.

This conjecture can derive but strength from the knowledge that the wind almost constantly, and the current with but partial relaxation, have a tendency to waft any floating object to the distant west, and why not to the American shores ? so that vessels blown out from Teneriffe and unprovided with the means to stem these obstacles to their return to the African side, could hope to reach no nearer land, nor by a safer course, than the line of drift. I have known boats of the Kerkeni islanders blown as far as Cyrene, a distance exceeding 500 miles, to the astonishment of crews miraculously preserved.

The ascendancy acquired by the Amorites in the western Atlas, over the other Kabayles, of which mention will be made in its place, would seem to contribute strength to the conjecture, if we can bring ourselves to believe any affinity exists between this great family of Canaan, whose new or African possessions in the Asiatic or Babylonian idiom was called Amoristan, and the family

of that extinct race in America, whose name Aymara, is not yet forgotten. It has been thought or said by others, that as the Phœnecian and Egyptian navigators, obeying the commands or sometimes the suggestions only, of the monarchs of Babylon, Nineveh, Memphis, Judea, &c., sailed down the Red Sea, and along the eastern coast of Africa, it is very probable that some of these adventurers were swept over from the southern promontory, to the Brazilian coast of America by the trade wind of the southern hemisphere, giving rise to the Aymaric nation in South America.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the 1st March, 1851, contains a clever article on the peopling of south America by the Aymaric race from Egypt or Assyria, of which it is regretted these limits will afford but a slight notice. The following must suffice :—

“ Il y'a,” says a learned traveller, “ au Musée National de la Paz, deux vases ou terre cuite qui peuvent être comptés parmi les monumens le plus remarquables de l'antique civilisation Aymarienne. Le pays autrefois nommé Aymara commença au-delà de Puno, les Aymariens, peuple valeureux et independant habitaient les plaines comprises entre Puno et Oruro. Ce territoire où de nombreux restes de

temples et de tombeaux attestent encore leur puissance fait aujourd'hui partie de la Bolivie. D'où venaient les Aymariens ? La réponse à cette question est écrite précisément sur les deux vases du Musée de la Paz. Sur chacun de ces vases on remarque en effet deux éléphants peints en noir et supportant un petit édifice qui ressemble à un tour, ou à un palanquin. Or les éléphants n'ayant jamais pu vivre dans le froid climat des Cordilières, il est évident que les Aymariens venaient de l'Asie. C'était le pays habité par cette peuplade Asiatique la Bolivie, que j'allais parcourir en quittant Puno. On comprendra que j'ai dit adieu, sans trop de regret, à la petite ville Péruvienne, sachant d'avance que j'allais pénétrer sur le théâtre d'une civilisation d'origine plus reculée encore que celle des Incas."—Voyage dans les Républiques de l'Amérique, du Sud.

I shall only further observe on this, that the trained elephant was used in the provinces of Africa, north of the Sahra, up to the time of the Punic wars, and no doubt they were introduced by the Assyrian or Babylonian armies, which supply naturally failed, when a western power, Rome, had succeeded in wresting all the maritime states of the Mediterranean from the jurisdiction or influence of the Asiatics, against whom the war was protracted afterwards on the side of Mesopotamia, or Arabia, and the plains of the Euphrates.

The Riffi, the Tuarics, the Zimrani, the Ger-

ari, a branch of the Hittites and Jebusites, the Zamori, Zawani, the Shilohi, and some other Kabayles of less note, (for the Tuarics may be included among these Asiatics,) are races who in succession penetrated to the Atlantic shores of Africa, and settled in various parts of the western Atlas, as well as the Amouri or Amorites. They are said to have entered the continent at various times both before and after the conquest of the Holy Land by the children of Israel, but are believed to have swarmed into Egypt and Arabia successively at the time when Canaan yielded to the arms of Joshua. How long some of these nations remained the peaceable subjects of the Pharoahs, or on quitting the regions of the Nile, how long it took them to force a passage through Africa, with the sword, distance of time may render it difficult to arrive at ; but some, like the Riffi, the Gerari, Amori, and Zimrani, were doubtless among the first of these invaders, nor could the pure Tuarics have been long behind. They seem to have poured into this continent as in after ages Oriental tribes and nations are known to have poured into the

Roman dominions, and struggled for a settlement on the plains of Italy. Among those tribes who traversed the Alps, and whose descendants either claim or are believed to have entered from Europe as their complexions would seem to denote, may be mentioned several, the Ambrani (or Ambrones) in particular. The country these Kabayles inhabit is Abda, near the Tensift river, in Morocco.

What has become of those old copies of the genuine or original chronicles of the tribes of which every one speaks as having been written for the early Abbassade Khalifs? These would probably open to us a passage to the interior of a library whose threshold is alone accessible at present, although such access, if persevered in, may be sufficient yet to extract much treasure from it.*

* Of the collection I made in Africa, one work written by a native of Soudan, I presented to the learned Dr. Lee, of Hartwell. It was a clever performance, partly poetic, and speaking of various African nations but little known in Europe; and another interest belonging to it, is that it shews the sort of civilization prevailing in countries so excluded from European intercourse. Besides this, I deposited with the Doctor a manuscript copy, and diagrams of

The emigration into Africa of some of the Canaanites, or at least into Egypt, whose dominion under some of the Pharoahs was over a wide extent of this continent, whether as suzerain or as vassals to the Babylonians, does appear to have happened anterior to the destruction of the cities of the plain, as before others as late as the time of the Judges, or later still. But many generations may have ensued before these emigrants had recruited sufficient strength on the banks of the Nile or on the Lybian plains, to enable those tribes to take the field: as also a few more generations may have elapsed before the earliest among these nations (who were probably the Amouri and the Riffi) entered those countries of Mauritanea, in which they have left their names. We may perhaps venture to believe that they were three or more centuries apart, the Riffi, or Rephaimi, from the valley so called near Jerusalem, having rested from their conquests it is thought, before the Amorites were all the most celebrated among the detached ruins in the upper Carthaginian provinces, with descriptions given in the same manuscript book. They might be worth referring to.

known in the land. But the entrance of these Eastern tribes generally was in succession from 1,500 years probably to about 800 years before the birth of Christ; and doubtless it was these warlike races who kept the Carthagenians in that constant fever, and who contributed thereby to her downfall.

Those great mixed nations the Tuarics and Fellatahs, the former of whom are now the vassals of the latter, are both the descendants of the Eastern emigrants; and the "Tibboo" or *Thebi*, although of another race, came from the Nile, and are in fact Egyptians; which descent, although they claim it, seems superfluous, for the drawings and sculptures of their ancestors stamp these originals with an orthodoxy in countenance and costume, which none who should behold them could dispute.

The war of Greece against Troy and its allies, which is known from the bard who put that history into metre, to have changed in the sequel dynastic order among so many nations united in its defence, contributed also to bring settlers upon the shores of Africa, who came as

Eneas is related to have done. And some ages later the Peloponesian and other states of Greece contributed to increase the number of towns both on the sea margin and in the interior of this continent, where those peoples settled under the Gibbel Akhdar or Green Mountains of the "Land of Happiness," to which the name of Cyrene or Krenna still attaches, as also under and beyond the Atlas.

The subject of these colonizations of the Greeks would alone form a chapter if these limits permitted it. They erected numerous towns besides in those countries, called the two Barkas, El Hamera and El Beida, as also in the Sirt at the bottom of the Great Syrtis Gulf, where these ruins are still crumbling to dust.

The errors of some authors, not excepting Sallust and Dr. Shaw, in speaking of this district, are remarkable, for in lieu of its being barren and inhospitable, no land in the regency of Tripoli is more fruitful or yields finer harvests of corn and grass, the latter of which forms its great luxuriance in the season

for pasturage, and is in many places a real impediment to the traveller's vision, although on horseback. The gulf, which by the Arabs is called Joon el Kebrit, it is admitted is formidable to the navigator when the Tra-montana and other windy gales prevail from a northern quarter. Yet even when embayed by running boldly for the islands at the bottom of the gulf, excellent anchorage and shelter are afforded. These islands, known to some by the name of the Sulphur Isles, are nearly opposite those large lagoons, environed by sand hills, which frequently cover the estuary of the renowned lake and river Triton, the Tratia or Wady Tratia of the Arabs, yet well known ; although unaccountable as it may seem, so misplaced by the learned author, Dr. Shaw, who describes this lake and river by various names, behind the minor Syrtis Gulf, where it has no existence, and where the ship of Jason never could have drifted from the Morea, with the wind at north, the current being also easterly, as any one may ascertain by a single glance at the map.

One of the greatest nations or intermixture

of tribes from the north-east to be found in Africa, are the Tokrei, or Teucrei, or Tuariki, as some of the Kabayles who have succeeded them in the Atlas call the pure Tuaric family whose ancestors lived in the Atlas in the age of Carthage.

The Egyptians, singly or united with Babylonians, were the lords of the soil of Africa it is added, until revolutions and changes of dynasty occurred on the Euphrates and Tigris, and until the state of Carthage became consolidated. Up to this time, probably the seventh century before Christ, or while the walls of Rome were in the course of erection, Egypt was able to carry her arms to many distant parts of Ethiopia, and possibly, as the belief prevails, to the sea of Souda, which bears the name of the Gulf of Guinea.

However this may be, besides circumcision it is seen that the customs and some religious ceremonies among the nations that line those great rivers which drain the land, bear a manifest resemblance also to symbols represented on the sculptured stones which were brought from Nineveh and Egypt.

Of all the garrison places or towns erected by these Orientals and Egyptians together in Africa, none of the fragments yet discovered among vast heaps of stones rather than ruins yield any traces of this occupation, although objects which are decidedly Egyptian are occasionally disinterred as far westward as the Minor Syrtis, and the country called the Jeride. But then it should be remembered that these researches have never been made below the surface, nor more has been picked up unless at Carthage, than what has readily come to hand.

The splendid ruins at and near Lebda, the country of the Lubuims of the Scriptures, still exhibit some features of Egyptian architecture. Those ruins of Cyrene, and the Pentapol, and the cities of the Sirt and Cenyphus, of the Tripole of Zowara and the southern provinces of Carthage, including the interesting remains of temples, and of one of the best preserved, and the finest specimen of Roman amphitheatres at El Jem—all these, or more, and all the records that can be procured besides, and this too in salubrious maritime provinces, are within the

reach of that distinguished class of travellers, whose mental acquirements it must be supposed would fully qualify them to earn a reputation honourable to families, which reputation would survive long after the memory of a mere visit with the associations belonging to a tour of fashion or recreation had been forgotten.

If the selection should be made of Tunis, or Tripoli, between those two countries stand a mass of mountains known by the name of the Gibbel, or central cluster of the Atlas, which will be spoken of in another section under the description which must be given of these homes of the Kabayle family, whereof many of the tribes are entitled to consideration as the pure or unmixed descendants of ancestors who came from Canaan.

CHAPTER IV.

Mauritanea—The Mauri—Settle on the Libyan side of the Nile—Invade the Marmarica—Enjoy long ages of prosperity—Fall into a state of decay—Desperate defence made by the Amori against the Romans—Mulai Ismael—Means by which he escapes when surrounded by Negro armies—The Ta'Amour—Costume of the tribes of Suse—Their Religion—The Amorites accustomed to mountain life—Relics of the great Dynasty.

AMORI, IT'AMORE, OR AMORITES.

It rests not upon tradition alone in Africa that Mauritanea, or the country of the "Mauri," from which the names Amori, Moros, Moors, &c., have been derived, was a land well peopled and governed by a powerful confederation of its tribes, while yet the Pharoahs ruled in Egypt, and exerted authority over Africa by armies composed but of Egyptians, Nubians, &c.

the subjects of Egypt exclusively, or mixed with the Babloni—Babylonians. The last named people are allowed to have been able at times to enforce commands upon the Egyptian monarchs, and the payment of tribute also. The events spoken of have also been recorded in many pages of Oriental history, in connexion with the genealogy of those tribes who occupied the Atlas in that early age; and these histories, or the oldest of which mention is made, date from the time of the Abbasside Khalifat, although they have been recopied, remodelled, and blended with other matter collected from the Kabayles themselves, and serving to substantiate the claim of those tribes in general to an Asiatic origin, many of them descendants of the Canaanites.

These people, it would seem, after the great reverses sustained by their nation collectively on the entrance of the children of Israel into Canaan, abandoned their country, and by the sanction we may suppose of the monarch of Egypt, settled on the Libyan side of the Nile, necessarily becoming a pastoral people like the Ammonites, their neighbours, emigrants like themselves, whose

confederates they became, consulting the same oracle,* or worshipping in the same Temple of Jupiter, which stood at *Siwah*, for the Amorites seem to have remained many generations on the land assigned to them, paying tribute to Egypt. The number of generations they passed in these lands is not known, but having multiplied their numbers, like the Israelites, so did the Ammorites fly from the tyranny of these rulers of the land of Egypt; and now naturalised to a life in the wilderness like other natives of the soil, they bent their thoughts upon permanent acquisitions in the countries beyond it.

Carrying away all they possessed and marching to the westward, they invaded the Marmarica, the Saadi, and Sirt, traversing deserts the immensity of which reduces those of Shur and Sin, where Moses led the Israelites, to the aspect of a

* Travellers who pass through this waddey, for such is the character of Siwah, report on the authority of its inhabitants, who can scarcely exceed 1000 souls, and who claim to be the descendants of the Ammonites and Copths, (a branch of the same race), that there is a city and palace under ground accessible still through a large sepulchral cave, (whereof there are many such), and this city is full of petrified men and women, or, as we suppose, marble statues.

miniature. The mountains above Lebda and the Gibbel itself, or parts of it, together with the plains of El Kanafia (the Cyniphus), and all those districts which extend as far as the Jerrid, yielded to the power of these conquerors who, however, did not rest in those countries, but appear to have continued their march along the back of the Atlas from the minor Syrtis gulf, westward, in the direction of the Atlantic.

Whether the government of Egypt was at its ease when the Amori fled, or whether for any political end these tribes were let loose upon Africa, it is not possible to decide; but it is not doubted by the natives of this continent, that the land, i.e. the plains and such mountains as were accessible, paid tribute to Egypt, or to Babylonia, or to both together; or alternately, as the influence of one or the other of these nations, might happen to be in the ascendancy,* Egypt

* The Persian connexion with the western parts of Africa, now but of the commercial order, is still kept up on the coast facing the Levant, or those 200 miles which incline north and south from the Ras Adar, or Cape Bou to Gabs, or Gerba. A chief commodity sought for is that peculiar fine wool which is brought from the Jerrid, or El Frashish, superior in texture to all others, and which serves for the

having frequently been the tax-gatherer of those Asiatics.

The Amori may either have fled from the control of Egypt, as intimated, or the latter, from motives of its own, may have urged, or connived at their departure. For the policy was doubtless the same in early times, as when the Khalifs at Baghdad ruled an empire, at least as extended as those which had preceded it from the seats of government both at Babylon and Nineveh. The motive for denying entrance to the Asiatics, or allowing them to pass into Africa, was based at all times upon a principle, favourable to the support of the Eastern authority over the West, and the expediency or necessity of Egypt to balance and neutralize local influences.

These emigrants, apparently irresistible in the field, did not rest from their conquests until they reached that land which in after ages became known to the Romans as Mauritanea, a corruption of the name Amoristan, conferred upon the country by its rulers, or by the sovereigns

manufacture of those fine cashmeres which are said to be unrivalled in quality

whose armies penetrated it from the Euphrates and Tigris.

Long ages of prosperity were enjoyed by the Amori dynasty, and the confederacy was strengthened by many other tribes who spread over all those countries which now constitute Morocco, Suse, and Draà, or the part of Mauritania that is separate from the Tingetana, or what is now called by its natives El Gharb Jawani. The Amori or its Dynastic tribe, as rulers over the rest, claimed the dominion over all the clusters of mountains in that part of the continent.

To this prosperity succeeded the age of decay, and this may have arisen from the consolidation of Carthagenian power sufficient to carry the arms of the Republic to Spain and the Islands of the Mediterranean, the same vigour insuring also the repose of the west of Africa from Asiatic fleets and armies.

Whatever effect the Punic wars may have had in retarding or accelerating the decay of that power which it is allowed the Amori did enjoy over both plains and mountains, their decline

experienced little interruption, and no amelioration of their condition seems to have happened from the result of the wars. The Roman occupation, indeed, as the legions penetrated westward, could but have tended to the more rapid dissolution of that confederacy which was supreme over the plains as well as the mountains, during the age of renown spoken of.

Carthage had been the bulwark which conferred security on this side against the Romi, as Europeans were called, and still are so, by these Africans. Whether the decadence of the Amorite supremacy in the western districts may have been accelerated by the Carthagenians, which is not improbable, can be but a subject of conjecture.

It may be credited however, that from whatever cause the decadence of power proceeded among the mountain tribes, yet Carthage never did hold those tribes in the subjection of vassals at any period.

On the entrance of the Romans the Amori favoured by position made many desperate efforts to defend their lands, but seem to have been gradually forced back upon the districts of upper

Suse and Shtuka. The plains were swept by the legions it is allowed, and the Amori at length retired to the high Atlas above Tarudant, the metropolis or rallying point of those Kabayles.

The defence from this point would seem to have been protracted for years, or for generations, the Amori never having been forced to recede far beyond those limits,—limits indeed which the posterity of these people, and the tribes they governed, still maintain; this part of the Atlas, which covers the plain and valleys of the Ras el Wad, being but sixty or seventy miles from Agadier on the Atlantic. From the rallying point before named, the Kabayles who formed its population in the time of the Khalifs also, were able to preserve their rights if not their complete independence against the Khalifat itself; as they still preserve those rights against the existing governments of the same country, closing their passes so strictly that rarely has it been possible for the sovereigns of Morocco to make a serious impression upon them, and never since the reign of Mulai Ismael, or about a century and a half ago.

It is related of this monarch, that having, whether by policy or force of arms, succeeded in traversing the upper and lower Suse, Mulai Ismael, after crossing the Sahra, claimed tribute from Bambara, but found himself soon afterwards enveloped by negro armies. In this emergency and cut off from supplies, he adopted the expedient of presenting a very beautiful Christian woman of his harem to the negro monarch. Peace was re-established thereby, and the sovereign of Morocco was loaded with presents and suffered to depart homeward with many thousand black slaves, whose descendants under the name of Bukhari now form the army of the empire.

Whether the 'Ta' Amour spoken of in this work as a tribe visiting the Jordan, are a branch of the same family as the It' Amour of Suse is quite a subject of conjecture, the former being, it would seem, altogether Arab in their language, dress, and mode of life, and the latter, as true Kabayli, the reverse of it in everything, and heeding, or knowing little or nothing of the Arabs or their dialect, a people indeed with whom they are not unfrequently at war, and have

but little intercourse with except at the markets or fairs.

The costume of the tribes of Suse partakes of the ancient Roman dress, for besides a sort of toga or abeya, they wear an under garment reaching to the knee and girt by a zone; many of them wear also sandals, with lacings to the calf of the leg. In place of the kheiam, or hair tents used by the Arabs, they erect square houses upon commanding points, which are loopholed for defence, and their towns or villages overhang all the passes.

Mohammedans in these days, their profession of this faith in many districts is nominal rather than a strict adhesion to the tenets of the Koran. Not only these, but many other families among the Kabayles, are accused by the Arabs with having put away their gods of wood and stone, only to transfer the worship these received to mortal men, and this charge appears to be not without foundation, for such is the veneration they pay to their chiefs, or some in particular, that in obedience to such authority they would undertake any enterprise, however hazardous;

and like the subjects of the old "Sheich el Gibbel," sacrifice any life at such bidding, were it even the lives of a father or mother. Other relics of their ancient customs still prevail, and among these are offerings to the rural deities, sacrifices to the sea, or to rivers, libations to presiding spirits, &c.

It is worthy of remark that, different from the idiom in which our spiritual records describe the names of these Oriental races, the termination of the name of a tribe or nation should precede it. Thus Amorite or children of Amour, like the ben Israël, or children of Israeel, becomes Ite, or rather It'Amour in the Kabayle tongue, the last vowel of the prefix being dropped as in some European languages, when the following word begins with another vowel, as in the words It'Amour. The reverse forms the rule when the name begins with a consonant, for then the deliberate sound of Ité, or children, is given, as Ite Ghazoul, Ite Bamaran, Ite Graga, &c.

Many passages in the Holy Scriptures will be familiar to the reader which have reference to the races spoken of. The following is from

Numbers, ch. xiii, verse 29. "The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south ; and the Hittites and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwell in the mountains : and the Canaanites dwell by the Sea and by the coast of Jordan." And in Deuteronomy, ch. vii. verse 1 and 2, we read : "When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many natives before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou."

"Thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them ; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them."

The Amorites were a nation accustomed to mountain life, in which habits they are not changed. Many of the tribes, from the great elevation of their land, are buried half the year in deep snow, which, together with the precipitous nature of parts of the Atlas, enable these Kabayles, when united, to resist any force that can be brought against them.

The elevated lands of Canaan, although mere hills in comparison with the chains which the descendants of these people now inhabit, were partly the possessions they enjoyed westward of the Jordan. Beyond that river they also held dominion over the plains under their King Sihon, who refused a passage to the Israelites through his borders.

“And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon.

“And took all these cities, and dwelt in the cities of the Amorites, and in all the villages thereof.

“And Heshbon was the city of Sihon, the king of the Amorites who had fought against the former king of Moab and taken all his land even unto Arnon.

“And Moses sent to spy out Jaazer, and they took the villages thereof, and drove out the Amorites that were there.” Numbers ch. xxi. verses 24, 25, 26, 32.

The relics of a confederacy so long eclipsed by other supremacies among the Atlas tribes

may still be traced in the country called Suse el Aksa, the southern branches of those mountains above the Wad noon or in the latitude of 29° . N. The country in this age, as in many preceding ones, is known by the name of El Bled Sidi Hesham, as also Hillala, from the name of one district. The ruling chief is a Morabt, or man of holy life, and the veneration paid him by these Kabayles would seem hardly credible if related: it is sufficient only to observe that at a signal from this chief, not only all the tribes he rules over would assemble in the field, but the Arabs of the Sahra, instigated by a common interest, would join these people in defending the passes.

Some of the principal of these tribes are the Giari, Bamrani, Zeneghi, Yakoubi, Khinsoui, Agloui, Zekriti; or Ite Giara, Ite Bamaran, Ite Zekriti, &c, and lastly, the Amouri, or It' Amour, the relic of that once great dynasty, powerful still as a tribe of the lower kingdom of Suse.

There is a fair or market held in the country of Sidi Hesham, periodically, which is of considerable importance to many nations, besides the tribes of Suse and the Sahra. Thither

resort the traders from Soudan, and the desert on one side, and those from Fez, Morocco, Algiers, &c., on the other. The dues of this market are said to be small. Several thousand Kabayle troops are constantly under arms on these occasions to protect the Caffelas in approaching the territory, and in guarding the property when displayed as it is on the open plain.

CHAPTER V.

The Shiloh—Resemblances between the various Kabayle tribes—Aversion of the Shiloh to travel—Origin of their name—Historical Associations of the country of the Shiloh—Its extent and fertility—The Argan—Names of the various tribes—El Hadge Mahommed ben Behe—The Jews perfectly distinct from the Kabayles—Period of the entrance of these tribes of Jews into the Mauritanian provinces.

THE SHILOH, OR SHILLUH.

THIS, a nation or collection of tribes speak one language, of which that used by the more southern tribes before named, including the Amori, is a dialect of the same. They are said to have entered Africa in an early age, and probably at no very great distance of time from the entrance of the Amorite family.

Their ancestors also came from Canaan, and

are believed to be or actually are the descendants of the Jebusites, or that part of this nation who inhabited the hills about Jerusalem, including the branch which bore their name.

All the Kabayle tribes resemble each other greatly in customs and habits, as in dress also, and are scarcely to be distinguished from their more northerly brethren, otherwise than by some peculiarity in the pronunciation of a dialect in general use, from the province Shiedma in Morocco to El Khanouk, i.e. Wad noon, and the lands of the Tajakant, and some other tribes on the margin of the desert.

Rarely do these people quit their country to travel any great distance, even for purposes of commerce; in which characteristic they are the antipodes of the Arabs, in their neighbourhood, the most enterprising of all the people in these parts, for these are the constant carriers and travellers to and fro over the Sahra. Yet one instance to the contrary merits notice in this place, for a party of six or seven Shiloh of the province of Hahà have actually had the resolution to cross the sea. It may be in the remembrance

of some of my readers that in the year 1836 certain performers, who were called Bedowin Arabs, exhibited feats of dexterity on the London boards, and with great applause—the truth being that they were no Arabs at all, and but very little conversant with the language of those people. As they were protected by the Duke of Brunswick, and had been recommended to me from Paris, I did not scruple to reproach them for consenting to deceive the public with the name of a race to which they did not belong ; but they justified themselves by saying “It is your people who wish to deceive each other.” We protested we did not belong to those vagabonds, but were told that nobody knew any besides Arabs in England. These men were Shiloh of the upper Suse, and of that confederacy over which the Amori, or Amorite dynasty once presided. Their country was the inferior Atlas of that district, which extends as far as Shtuka, reaching from the Kabayle province of Hahà, which terminates in the highlands above or south of Mogadore, the Suera of its inhabitants.

“Shiloh,” as we read, became a city of Ephraim,

which stood upon a hill about ten miles south of Shechem. It was in this place where the Tabernacle was set up after its conquest over the inhabitants of those hills. Whether the land or the people, on the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan bore the name of Shiloh or Shilluh, which does not appear clear, it was but a natural result, that as emigrants from their old inheritance they would retain the name of it, or of the Patriarch among their ancestors from whom it had descended.

It was in the hills or mountains of Shiloh, or of the Shiloh that Joshua made the last distribution of the lands among the twelve tribes. The tabernacle and the ark remained at Shiloh until the closing days of Eli. After the defeat and capture of the ark by the Philistines, when the two sons of Eli fell in the battle, 1 Sam., iv. 2, it was detained about seven months, but never again restored to Shiloh. This locality is also celebrated for the dedication of Samuel to the Lord. With that defeat the reputation of Shiloh faded until its name almost passed into oblivion.

The lands of the Shiloh in Africa, spread nearly three hundred miles along the Atlantic coast. They are a pastoral and agricultural people, who possess vast herds of cattle, sheep, and goats. Their country is exceedingly fruitful in every production of the earth congenial to the climate, and particularly in the Olive, Almond, and Fig.

The soil yields large crops of wheat and barley, exceeding the wants of these Kabayles, populous as the country is. It is peculiar in the husbandry practised among them, that they strew their field with stones gathered from the valleys and slopes of mountains, which, after the harvest, they collect again occasionally in heaps as if it were manure. The virtue of these stones, however it may seem, is great, and without such auxiliary the crops would assuredly be defective, or often fail entirely. For the soil being light and sandy, the stones are indispensable in binding it to the tender roots of plants, particularly corn, without which the wind* would lay the roots bare.

* Strong easterly winds constantly blow during nearly ten months of the year, from Cape Cantin or the Gibbel

The most valuable of all trees to these Kabayles is the *Argan*, which is believed to grow nowhere else. The majesty of the wide spreading branches of the Argan may be better understood from the capacity of many of them to shelter parties of travellers, or cover detachments of troops exceeding one hundred men, besides browsing in the branches several hundreds of goats who are exceedingly fond of the outer rind or pulp of its nut, bitter as it is. It is the stone which contains an inner kernel that produces the oil called after the name of the tree, or "*Zeit el Argan*," whose properties for culinary uses are reckoned superior in these parts to olive oil. The leaves are of a dark rich green, and the branches run in thick stems zig-zag, either horizontal or at easy angles for the goats to climb. The singular spectacle of trees full of these animals to the top branches is striking to the

Heddid, along the coast and over this part of Africa, until they join, if they do not give rise to the trade wind. The drift of the soil in some places is serious and extensive; for miles the traveller may travel among these accumulations, and from his horse in some places reach the loftiest boughs of the trees imbedded in sand hills.

traveller. Indeed without the Argan these tribes could not possibly rear the flocks that are seen, for light superficial vegetation of all sorts dries up about the beginning of April, and the earth reposes until reopened by the autumnal rain. The Argan and the Ertûm, a sort of brushwood, which also fattens the flocks, are mines of inexhaustible wealth, the source of a vast fecundity, as manifest, if only in the extensive importations, including wool and goatskins from the ports of Morocco.

The tribes are far too numerous to distinguish by name. Some of the principal among those who live on these branch mountains, including Hahà and the country southward of Tedla, and the Gibbel Heddid, as far indeed as the Atlas, above the city of Morocco, are the Idaou Gour, Idaou Tit, Idaou Bozea, Idaou Tannan, Idaou Khinsou, Idaou Zomta, Ite Mousa, and Ite Frouka. And this is but a very small portion of the Shiloh Kabayles, who living mostly within the limits of the dominions of the Emperors of Morocco, nevertheless are bound to the interests of that empire but by a precarious allegiance in some

instances, and by none whatever in others. The Tannani, or Idaou Tannan, are not at much more than three days journey from the city of Morocco; yet even this tribe are an overmatch for the troops that might be sent to reduce them, the passes of their country being so difficult for an enemy to approach. But not this tribe alone, for many others who are distant only from two to six days journey from the sea, effectually defy this empire on their mountains.

The Kaid, or Viceroy over all this mountain land for the emperor, is El Hadge Mahommed ben Behe, a chief mild in disposition, and of great political sagacity; his father was a man of great inflexibility, and much cruelty is attributed to him; but so great is the difficulty at times of governing these Kabayle subjects, that it is not safe to pronounce an opinion, except in condemning his favorite mode of punishing seditions. This was by tightly bandaging quick lime sewn up in the palm of the hand, the arm of the sufferer being cased in leather.

It is very remarkable and believed to be unique, not in Africa alone, but in the world,

that the Jews are as inseparable from these Kabayles as their ancestors were in the districts around Canaan after it became subject to the sway of the house of David. While the Arab mostly shuns the Jew, or would scarcely tolerate his sojournment among their tribes, the Kabayle on the contrary protects and encourages his residence among them, harmonising to a certain extent as they do with each other in all the relations of life, if we except the points of religion, which, however, form no great obstacle to the Kabayle, who is not over burthened with "Islamia," or those strict doctrines of the Koran which are esteemed orthodox. The Jewish population is large, and these are the artificers of the Kabayle towns and villages, as they are also merchants and traders.

But besides this they cultivate the soil with the Kabayle, and contrary to the prevailing order of things in Morocco these agriculturists, who travel with their camels and flocks with the freedom of the Arab himself, share equal rights and differ nothing in dress or language, speaking the Kabayle and the Arab dialects with the same

purity as the Bedwin or Kabayle, which the Jews are incapable of doing probably in any other part of Africa. This advantage they owe to their field employment, and constant intermixture with the lords of the soil, whether Kabayle or Arab. It is thought also that these are the only tribes of Israel who still cultivate the earth like their ancestors. The only slight distinction is a small black cap which they wear on entering the towns or houses of Morocco.

The precise time when these tribes of Jews entered the Mauritanian provinces is uncertain, but it is universally agreed that not long after the ages of David and Solomon, all the low lands of western Africa contained already large tribes of Jews, who lived pastoral or agricultural lives, and indiscriminately mixed with the Kabayle tribes in question, with whom they formed alliances, or made war as in Judea itself. Fez, the northern metropolis and residence of the Court, the mountains adjoining Tetuan, Tlemsen, Tedla, Duguella, and various other districts, were then fully peopled with Jews, as we know to have been the case in Arabia itself ;

nor did they embrace the Koran until after wars and fierce resistance against the Saracen invaders of Africa.

CHAPTER VI.

The Efroni—Some still inhabit the Gibbel—A Branch of the Hittites—Entrance of the Jewish Tribes into the Saadi—The Efroni proprietors of the Cave of Machtebah—Hittata—Adherence to Old Customs.

EFRONI OR EPHRONI.

EFRONI, or Ephroni, is the name of a lofty ridge of mountains adjoining to the Gharian Atlas of Tripoli, which in an early age was occupied by some tribes of Orientals who came from the side of Egypt, and are supposed to have trodden the path of so many other invaders of the maritime districts. Originally from Canaan their posterity long enjoyed this inheritance,

and although many of them are believed to have joined other masses of emigrants, and removed further to the west ; yet some of these tribes intermixed with an Arab population still inhabit the Gibbel, of which the Efron mountains form a part. Besides the inheritance they conquered in this part of the Atlas, they are said to have ruled all that portion of the Sahra which spreads from Merzouk to Ghadams, including the districts of Mizda Derge, the Wady Lajal, and the mountains adjacent. And north of the Atlas their possessions extended as far as the sea-borders ; which would include the districts of Dahman, Galeel, Touabia, Lajela, and Sabra.

These mountains are the Kikla, Gharian, el Gaa, and Romela, Zintan, Wasseig, Benoleid, and a few of minor note east of the Gibbel, most of which are full of springs that throw off waddeys and contain whole forests of the Olive, the most valuable of all trees to a people whose subsistence depends so much upon the fruit and the oil expressed from it.

By admitting the claim to a genuine Canaanite descent it seems but a natural conclusion

that the Efroni, or Efronites, are Hittites, or a branch of that nation, which through the scriptural account may be traced back to an age when the earliest events ensued, whereon the Jews lay claim to the most enviable of all distinctions, viz., that of being the chosen people of the earth; creatures, says the Arab, of a creation with whom the Creator vouchsafed to make a covenant which they knew not how to appreciate.

There seem to be no traditions relating to the establishment of these tribes, in the provinces properly considered as Carthaginian, or westward of the town, which in an after age bore the name of Tripoli, now called the old, although they are also said to have been a formidable people whose sway was acknowledged over the maritime provinces of Jiffara, while that power prevailed. No intelligence exists concerning the name of these Kabayles on the Mauritanian side, although, as will appear in its place, the Hittites themselves reached those borders. The influx of other Kabayles in succeeding ages, both as invaders with hostile intentions, and as emigrants

and supplicants for land or a grant of pasturage, otherwise for leave to traverse the borders on their march to the westward, appears to have been unceasing as a stream, which the evidence of things in Africa clearly shows was of more frequent occurrence than in Europe, notwithstanding those natural, as they are also formidable barriers of the Red Sea and the Nile. The confidence which inclined tribes to ask permission to traverse countries on their march is exemplified in the answer given by Jephthah to the king of the children of Ammon.

“Then Israel sent messengers unto the King of Edom, saying, ‘let me, I pray thee, pass through thy land :’ but the King of Edom would not hearken thereto. And they sent unto the, King of Moab, but he would not consent,” &c. Judges xi. 17, 19, &c.

The entrance of Jewish tribes into the Sàadi, the Sirt, and the land colonized by the children of Ammon, the Nasamoni of the Greeks, was early in this part of the continent, and may have been the result of some of those intestine divisions which begat civil wars in Judea. These

emigrants* became supplicants in turn for land, or a passage through it, to the posterity of a people whom their own ancestors had expelled ; and they are said to have rapidly extended their borders, and pressed forwards to the Atlantic side ; as in the same early age they are believed to have entered Arabia, by the fords of the Jordan, or by turning the Dead Sea and the mountains of Moab, so to escape danger on the side of Egypt.

When the Patriarch Abraham was in treaty for the cave of Machpelah as a burying place he wished to possess among the people with whom he sojourned, the Efroni, it may be supposed a patriarchal title, were the particular tribe to whom the inheritance belonged. The Ephron of the Bible was indeed a prince, or chief, who dwelt among the children of Heth, and the field and cave of Machpelah were near the valley of Mamre which

* The most formidable among the enemies of the Arabian prophet, were the Jewish tribes of that country ; and these cost no little trouble to reduce, even after the idolators had submitted. Of these tribes the learned Sale, the translator of the Koran into English, also speaks.—Vide preliminary discourse.

is close to Hebron. Gen. xxiii. The Efronites, as we read therein, were a branch of the great family or nation of Hittites who emigrated and traversed Africa in formidable numbers at another period of time ; and who were great conquerors, finally settling in those clusters of mountains which cover so large a space in the dominions of Suse on the Atlantic. So it is inferred from traditions which speak of these Kabayles, and from the name they have left behind, which name still adheres to the country of the Hittati of Suse, as those descendants of the Hittites were called ; for the tribes are so mixed and crowded together in some of the western mountains, that it might be difficult or impossible in these days to trace out the true posterity of those people among other tribes who inhabit the high Atlas. The name of this country is Hittata ; but which, by corruption, I believe, has been spelt in some maps Itata, or Ittala. Like other highland parts of Suse it is of great fertility in corn, yielding besides in great abundance those staple articles of commerce, the Olive, Fig, and Almond. These fruits, and particularly the Fig, when dried serve

the Kabayle for winter food, as the Date supports the Arab in that season.

To return to the Gibbel of the central Atlas, the land of Efron is also a land fertile and populous. Here, however, from the encroachments of some Arab tribes or greater intercourse with them, the Kabayle language has become merged in the Arabic, not in Efron alone, but in a great portion of the Gibbel also, and generally throughout the plains under those mountains. Yet the old tribes still adhere to many of the customs of their forefathers, and like their neighbours of Gharian, Terhona, Imsalata, and the mountains of Lebda, they burrow, as it were in the earth, or live in caves along the slopes and precipices.

CHAPTER VII.

The Girgashites—One of the doomed races—Force the passes of the Lebda—Compelled to quit their possessions on the Sahel—The Town of Girgash—Principal source of Employment for the Inhabitants—The Ghatti and the Fokhi—The Men of Gatti—The Territory of the Fokhi Phoceans.

GIRGASHI.

THESE people also entered Africa in an early age on the side of Egypt, and effected some conquests in and under the central Atlas or Gibbel, together with some districts or waddeys in the Sahra adjacent to the land they settled in. That they came also from Canaan is beyond dispute, and that they erected towns and villages both in the mountains and in the Jiffara, or

plain, (in after times the plain of Tripoli) rests upon the traditions of a people among whom the descendants of these Girgashi, or Girgashites are intermixed. The names indeed are of corresponding meaning, constructed only in a different tongue. Hence, speaking of a people whose advent in entering Egypt is the same, or nearly so as that which marks the passage of the Jordan and the occupation of the Land of Promise by the Israeli or Israelites, it may suffice to say that the Girgashites as a nation or collection of tribes are so well known to the reader from accounts contained in the Scriptures, that it is almost superfluous to refer to those sacred texts. But as they formed one out of a list of proscribed or doomed races, the following quotations will serve to record the names and countries they had inherited through their generations up to the time of their expulsion.

“And Joshua said hereby ye shall know that the living God is among you and will drive out from before you the Canaanites and the Hittites and the Hivites and Perrizites and the Girgashites and the Amorites and the Jebusites” Josh.

iii. 10. Again—"The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south: and the Hittites and the Jebusites and the Amorites dwell in the mountains: and the Canaanites dwell by the sea and by the coast of Jordan." Numb. xiii. 29.

The Girgashi formed part of one of those emigrations which seems likewise to have entered Africa by the way of the maritime provinces on the Mediterranean. After overrunning those countries and rounding Barka and all the plains of the Sirtis Gulf, they forced the passes of Lebda, and speedily conquered the inhabitants of those districts in Jiffara, the mention of which has been made.

Like some other among these outcasts from Canaan, the age of their overthrow and their flight to the south, or their entrance as far as the Egyptian borders, it is probable may be ascertained with fair claim to precision from the record of those events. Thirty-three centuries have waned from that time, and having entered but as fugitives and supplicants for land, or for permission to cross the Nile, their settlement in the countries beyond the river was prompt.

Strengthened in numbers in the lapse of some generations they quitted those pastures, nothing loth to exchange such inheritance for the richer and better watered lands along the shores of the Mediterranean, if able to conquer for themselves a possession.

The Girgashi ended their march, it would seem from this, as from what is known of their deeds, near the minor Sirtis and the central Atlas, including Jiffara, or the great plain under the eastern part of the Gibbel.

In those mountains the remembrance of these people survives, it is affirmed, in various towns or villages erected by their tribes, and in the tribes themselves, a portion of whom claim to be the true descendants of those conquerors. They were forced in turn, however, in after ages to quit their possessions on the Sahel or maritime plains, as those lands were successively occupied by other invaders, who, like the Phœnecians, Tyrians, Phrygians, Greeks, Romans, &c. came by sea; or like the Egyptians, Babylonians, kindred tribes of Asiatic emigrants, Jews, and Arabs, entered on the land side. The last

abandonment of the lowlands by the mixed population they contained but a few centuries back was when the name of Barbarossa affrighted Europe. Or when the last of the Sultans of the Kabayles, and Arabs of Tripoli, was inveigled into the power of a Turkish admiral, and destroyed in order to give place to the old authority of the Eastern Empire, revived in the person of an Ottoman Prince, and extended over the three regions of Africa, viz Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers. Yet the Turks like the Romans found it a task too difficult to subjugate those tribes or to penetrate the passes of their mountains, and so they wisely made a peace with these and all the Kabayles and Arabs of the Gibbel, recognising the independance of this republic by a Firman which still entitles their chief Sheich to extraordinary military honour and concessions, whenever he may have the courage to descend from his mountains and claim them by entering the city of Tripoli.

A town originally built by the Girgashi, and still bearing the name of those people, although now but a little village about three miles west-

ward of the modern city of Tripoli, is a relic remaining of a city whose base stood on the same site, and has been partly or wholly submerged. It is called Girgash. Like other Oriental towns, or villages, there is nothing in the buildings attractive to the eye, and it contains but three or four poorly endowed mosques, the houses being constructed of sand-stone roughly piled and embedded in gypsum. The aspect of this village on a dreary coast is the more uninviting to the traveller, because the neighbourhood behind is still more devoid of interest.

Girgash indeed is little more than a fishing village in these days, the ramel or sands having accumulated behind it to such a depth, that scarcely any cultivable land is left to the inhabitants; and this no doubt has contributed to impoverish both Girgash, and the neighbouring towns called Zanzour, Touabia, El Maya, Zawia, &c., these eight centuries past; about which time also the sea, according to the tradition, made that sudden breach over the land which, as it then formed the present port of Tripoli, swallowing up the buildings of the old city, still

visible under water ; so it may also have submerged fairer relics of the Gîrgashites than the miserable villages existing at the present time.

The principal source of employment for the inhabitants of Gîrgash, besides fishing, is the cutting of stone out of vast caverns and quarries, which have contributed to the erection of the city and fortification of Tripoli. It has also some mines of salt, and at no great distance from the village inland is a lake of brackish water of considerable depth, surrounded by an amphitheatre of lofty sand hills, extending thirty miles inland to those plains under the Gharian mountains, which are inhabited by the tribes of Orshifana principally.

The Gîrgashi, although declining, were at one period the neighbours both of the Ghatti, and the Fokhi, the former of which people, now merged in that great family of mankind called the Tuaric, and supposed to have entered the land either towards the close of the reign of King David, or during that of Solomon ; and the latter Phoceans,* as the Oriental idiom Fokhi

* The reader is reminded of what has been said on the

expresses it, who came in ships from the coasts of Greece, and who are known to have colonized and built towns in Europe, as they also did in Africa from the Sirtis Gulf to Fezzan. These people it is probable were refugees, a remnant of those who, like Eneas and his followers, had left destruction behind to establish a name in other lands, so late as the time of the sacred war, or about three centuries and a half before the age of Christ.

Ghat, or the town which denotes where these people, the Gatti, settled in the Sahra, is to the westward of Merzouk, upon the parallel of nearly twelve degrees of longitude, east, or almost due south of cape Carthage, and distant from it rather more than 600 geographical miles. Little is known of the African destinies of a people who are said to have trodden over the beaten

opposite powers conferred upon the letter C when used hardly and softly. Among the Arabs, Punici, Feneci, Foci, (or Phenici and Phoci) would be unintelligible ; but should the C be pronounced hard they would recognise at once the Phœnicians, Carthagenians, Phocians, &c. These and a few other observances render it easy to discourse with them.

path from Judea like some of these tribes, (besides Israelites), many among whom were observers of the Jewish institutions.

Their ancestors, believed to be the men of "Gath," figure in the sacred scriptures in the honorable post of supporters to king David during that conspiracy of his son Absalom, which entails a malediction upon the memory of that rebellious son from every pious Moslem, and every year to this day they desecrate his tomb and curse his memory. The passage which refers to these people is in 2 Samuel xv. 18, and following verses.

The Gatti of the Sahra, now a poor and peaceful branch of the Tuarics, or rather the Moust Tuarka, or mixed people, number but few, and were probably always subordinate as tribes to the nations around them. These were or are the Tuarics of Tuât, who are supposed to be of purer, or of the purest descent; the Bilmi, (Blemmians as they are called in some maps) a Theboo race, Bilma, on the road from Merzouk to Kanem, having been once a town of some repute, and the seat of a native government

of those people. The sovereigns of Fezzan, and that nation of Gharammi or mixed Tuarics ("Garamantis" we may believe) whose possessions in the Sahra have become the spoil of other people since the Roman occupation, and whose descendants still inhabit the southern shores of the Joon, Kabs, (or Gabs) or lesser Gulf of Syrtis. Hence the posture of the Ghatti was an uneasy one, like that of their neighbours the Ghadamsi or Gadamseens in the present age.

The territory of the Fokhi Phoceans, of which there survive but the town and district called after these people, is not far from the capital of Fezzan. This territory was the seat of an inland Greek government that controlled the destinies not of Fezzan alone before Merzouk stood on those plains, or while Carthage ruled the Atlantic side of Africa, and the cities of Cyrene and Barka swayed the destinies of the Eastern tribes as far as the Egyptian frontier. Sokna, Sebha, Hoon, Wadan, Bonjem, the plains of Zafran, and of Tourgha, Zleiten, El Henshir, and some other districts owed allegiance to these foreigners, the

limits of whose dominion on the sea margin seem to have extended nearly as far as El Kanafia* or the Aqueduct which brought water from the Cynephus to Lebda. The Fokhi, withal, may have been and probably were subordinate to the government of Barka, and the Syrtis Gulf, which were once so flourishing, although the city of Barka itself had sustained great reverses in a previous age, and had suffered a memorable siege by the land and naval forces of Asia, which, according to Herodotus, it had been unable to resist.

These nations were the neighbours of the

* Kanafia, as formerly observed, is the name of that city and river of the Cynephus, the true name according to the Arab rule respecting the double power conferred upon the letter C in Europe. The aqueduct spoken of runs about fourteen miles, and although broken through particularly in one place, where a waddey, viz., the Kaam, is said to have burst out about three centuries back, and which is now undermining part of the magnificent ruins of Lebda, yet both are still in high preservation as ruins, and are of great interest in some respects. The port, indeed, is now a corn field, for the sea has here receded, although the waves still reach the breakwater or mole, and the soil near the waddey has accumulated above the roofs of the mansions which stood in that quarter.

Girgashi, and of another Asiatic people called the Zauzouri, whose town or village, also of little note on the sea coast, leans upon the same Ramel or desert at a few miles distance on the west and is called Zauzour. Whether these could have been the Zanzumims of the Scriptures—"the giants of old," it is difficult to decide, but it is admitted that they came from Egypt, perhaps from Canaan also, for "that was accounted a land of giants, giants dwelt therein in old time, and the Ammonites call them Zammumims, a people great and many, but the Lord destroyed them." Deut. ii, 20, 21.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Gerari—They traverse the Central Regions of Africa—Their approach to the Western Atlas by the side of Taffilet—Of considerable political importance—Passages in the Scriptures which refer to their origin—Their earlier patrimony—Morocco—Mulai Suleiman and the Kabayles of Hâha—Traits of their character—The bombardment of Mogadore—Sufferings of the inhabitants—Mr. Davidson's unhappy fate—The retirement of the Gerari to the southern mountains of Suse.

GERARI.

THE ancestors of these people are also reputed to have entered Africa from the Asiatic borders, among the early emigrations. Their old patrimony is said to have been on the southern frontier of the land of Canaan, and near the Beer Sheba. Like several of those nations, whose pretension to ancestral fame or power

is slight, the Gerari it would seem had no other claim to the great renown they acquired in Africa, than the military prowess which enabled these small tribes after crossing the Nile, to work their way through the Sahra to the extreme west. By a comparison with the great nations of Canaan, the Gerari, considering them to be the same as those whose name is recorded in the Scriptures, were few and insignificant. But this, as history confirms in many pages, detracts nothing from the claim asserted. "The longer the course of a river, the greater is its bulk," say the Arabs, "but the difference between their springs is not in the same proportion." For instance, from what fountain did our own great nation derive those elements which have served to people continents as well as islands? Who were that particular race called the Angles, and what are they now?

The Gerari clearly run a long course in traversing the central regions of Africa, as they must have done indeed in order to reach the inheritance possessed by their descendants. This particular course through the Sahra, they are

supposed to have taken by preference, owing to their numerical strength being inadequate to the invasion of the upper provinces, the Gibbel, and more central parts of the Atlas. The strength they needed was gradually accumulated by their lances, by alliances contracted on this march, which rendered them a formidable people as they approached the western mountains and by lodgments which they effected among sister tribes of the Amori family, with whom they might claim kindred or nationality from the same father-land having been common to the ancestors of both, and from speaking a language which at least all use at the present time.

How these people entered the continent, whether through Egypt and by the pass of Suez, or through Arabia, and from thence over the Red Sea, and the upper channel of the Nile, it would be profitless to enquire; but supposing it to have been by the latter road, this, it is likely, would denote that their entrance into the land of the Pharoahs was adverse to the wishes of the Egyptian government, none of these emigrants from Asia being known to choose a settlement

in Arabia by preference, while the gates of Africa were open to adventurers.

Their approach to the western Atlas was on the side of Taffilet, or somewhere it is supposed near the sources of the rivers Draa and Melouia, whose springs, it is described, are separated but by the Atlas chain. By these passes the tribes entered Demenet and the plain of Morocco, after crossing those mountains. Although that age of renown has been long eclipsed by an accumulation of events which subverted many dynasties of a later date, yet the Gerari are still formidable as a tribe or collection of tribes, and now belong to the great confederacy of the Shiloh with whom they have become incorporated, and whose habits and customs assimilated from the beginning.

Their Kabayle name is Ite Gerar, or the children of Gerar, and for their deeds of arms to the present day, they are held in high estimation by all the tribes; they have removed or been driven to the south since that time, and are now to be found on the lat. of about 28° north. The position they occupy near those

gorges of the westernmost mountains of Atlas which border upon the Sahra, south and east of the Wad Noon (the land called El Khanouk), confers a considerable political importance upon this tribe, or collection of tribes. Their country is also a mart for the exchange of goods, to which many traders resort ; as also for the purpose of buying or hiring camels, &c., prior to the journey over that part of the desert which lies below those mountains.

Such a frontier on the high roads that lead from Morocco to Azawat (the country of which Timbuctoo is the metropolis), to Bambara, or the French settlements on the Bahar Andar (Senegal), constitutes these people guardians of the upper roads both to Accah and Tatta, and this confirms their importance among the Shiloh confederates.

They owe allegiance at the present time to the name of a Shiech who is a descendant from Sidi Hesham, a "morabt," or spiritual chieftain of great renown, and of almost unlimited power, in the early part of the present century. This inheritance, which includes a federalism of the

surrounding Kabayles, he left to his successors. These tribes effectually intercept any approach the arms of Morocco might attempt with a design either to establish the emperor's authority in those countries, or to force a passage through the last gorges of those mountains which cover the Sahra, as well as the Arab and Tuaric lands, and the roads to Soudan. It is true this barrier was passed rather than forced, in the reign of Mulai Ismael a century and a half ago, but no such attempt has been made since.

Assuming, as there is fair ground for doing, that these are the people whose ancestors, apparently not very numerous, in the time of the patriarch Isaac dwelt in the southern borders of that land, which afterwards became an inheritance of the tribes of Israel, the following passages from Gen. xxvi., will throw some light upon their origin —

“ And there was a famine in the land. And Isaac went unto Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar.

“ And Isaac sowed in that land, and the Lord blessed him.

“ For he had possessions of flocks and herds, and the Philistines envied him.

“ And Isaac departed thence, and pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar.

“ And the herdsmen of Gerar did strive with Isaac’s herdsmen, saying, the water is ours,” &c.

The beauty of the entire chapter is striking, and in other points of view the interest respecting those primitive, or natural impulses, or courtesies as narrated in the sequel of the chapter, are honourable likewise, not alone to the patriarch, or not so much as to Abimelech the king of these Philistines; for such appear to be the ancestors of these Gerari tribes, who in this light are seen to have formed part of a great people. Abimelech reproved Isaac concerning that deception which prompted him to call his wife by the name of sister, saying to the patriarch—“What is this thou hast done unto us to bring guilt upon us.” And who thereupon made an amicable covenant with Isaac, proclaiming death to any of his people who should molest the patriarch or his wife.

In some maps of this part of Africa the tribe

I am speaking of is inserted it would seem, but from the spelling of the name, or the pronunciation this would give, it is quite certain that neither Arab nor Kabayle could recognise that sound. This word is Jiara, whereas nothing will express it better than the European character, Gerari.

The Gerari, when settling formerly in Demenet, Rahamna, and Saraghua, above and below the city of Morocco, are said also to have spread into the maritime provinces of Shiedma and Hàha, the Tensift river, which flows into the Atlantic from the mountains above Morocco, being then the boundary of these Kabayles.

These mountains, which form a part of the High Atlas, the earlier patrimony of the Gerari, are not more than sixteen miles distant from Morocco. Although more than half buried in snow and glaciers, the heat of the city at certain seasons is next to insupportable. This might be exemplified by the fact that its inhabitants were compelled to quit it for a term about twelve years back. The approach to this city is picturesque, from the close plantation or

forest of Date Palms, which conceal the walls until the view suddenly bursts upon the traveller; although from the great height of a Mosque, called El Kautubeah, upwards of 200 feet, this object may be seen at twelve or fourteen miles distance above the Palms.

The change in these plains as well as in Morocco is great within the memory of the present generation. Less than thirty years ago nearly half the city was desolate from lack of inhabitants; since the year 1830 it has become densely crowded with new populations, Arab and Kaybayle refugees from Algiers and its Atlas, who in the year 1845 I know waited but the decision of the Emperor on the alliance coveted by the Mâhadin (Abd el Kader) to march in concert with the whole of the Kabayles upon the flank of Marshal Bugeaud.

Morocco was built expressly in the heart of the Kabayle lands, when the Arab power recovered its supremacy on those plains after the shock it had received from the reaction of the Kabayle influence against their authority. The grandeur and the wealth that Morocco enjoyed during the western

Khalifat and later, is still conspicuous in the public buildings of those ages, in the environs as well as within the city. The impression created in my mind from more than one visit to this metropolis tends but to confirm a belief in the impolicy on many relations concerning Barbary in general and this Emperor in particular.

The relationship which subsisted between the Gerari and the Kabayles of Shiedma, and Hàha ; and more particularly it is said with the Ite Gragà of Shiedma, once a tribe of great consideration, also brings to mind a recrimination which, if thought to be a digression, my readers will perhaps excuse.

In the preceding reign of Mulai Souleiman, the Kabayles of Hàha, in compliance with a custom peculiarly Oriental, selected a beautiful damsel to be presented to the Emperor. The escort is said to have consisted of her own brothers as well as cousins, and these kindred, from the relationship that is still acknowledged, consisted both of Hahàwi and Girari, although some also add Gragui or of the tribe of Ite Graga. In due time the deputation reached the

court, then at Morocco, and the Emperor, highly delighted, handsomely rewarded them, bestowed a benediction on their tribes and families, and assigned to these people honourable quarters in the city. The day following they were summoned again to the Imperial presence, but to the astonishment of every body (or all perhaps besides the Emperor) they were nowhere to be found. It was asserted they had committed a flagrant breach of trust on the journey, which had enraged the Emperor, and therefore these respectable kindred had by such prompt departure taken time by the forelock, or what we should call French leave of the court, in order to reach their mountain homes. This anger, however, subsided soon after into a qualification of the monarch's benediction. The amusing part of the story is the counter charges or recriminations between the respective deputies and other tribes, each wishing to claim a moral exemption from the malediction of the Emir el Moumenin (commander of the Faithful, or, better, Prince of Believers) which adheres closely to Hàha from the mention made but of that name under Imperial indignation.

Many traits of character might be related besides of these kindred of the Gerari, but the most recent as the most flagrant was during the bombardment of Mogadore by the squadron under the command of the Prince de Joinville, for while the French were battering the sea walls, instead of helping in the defence of the town these Kabayles assailed it on the land side, forced their way in, and sacked it, sparing neither Jew nor Moslem families, and not satisfied with this booty, they carried off to the country numerous among the most comely of the females, who were long detained among the tribes.

It was the sufferings endured by those townspeople which moved the compassion of many charitably disposed persons, both Christians and Jews, to subscribe liberally towards their relief; and which prompted my assent to the proposal that I should revisit Mogadore shortly after the calamities spoken of, to procure accounts of the distribution of funds which, to say the least, were inadequate to relieve more than a small portion of those miseries, the gross extent of which, indeed, it could only pain the reader

to be informed of.* The charity had been promoted by Sir Moses Montefiore, a subscriber to so many of our benevolent institutions, and one of the largest among these contributors. Through this philanthropist it was I embraced that offer, and profited by the occasion to revisit a country in which I had already spent six or seven years. How changed was it however in 1845, and how direful had been the effect of a bombardment, which was uncalled for and useless, either as regards France or these wretched people, who so far from being

* Perhaps it may be expected I should subjoin to the above that when I quitted the Mediterranean side of Africa, in the expectation of a speedy return, it was to be the bearer of a letter of recommendation to Sir Moses Montefiore from a certain worthy Rabbi Shellom, Shellom —, of Tunis, which from a peculiar talismanic invocation in that letter and its copy, the Rabbi said no true son of Abraham could or would neglect. As a specimen of Oriental composition, this letter might claim precedence and interest also above all others of its class, not alone from the novel beauty of the manuscript and composition. The casual reader, indeed, with all that he may surmise or know of the style and composition of eastern dignitaries, could yet form no just conception of the combinations occasionally employed in some Oriental literature, to which this specimen belongs. It would, however, be foreign to my subject, or out of place, if this were all, to insert that specimen in these pages.

enemies would have implicitly obeyed the known will of their sovereign, had he dared to express it loudly, which was to secure the person of Abd el Kader, without compromise of the Court and Dewan, and offer him as a sacrifice for the repose of an empire, and a dynasty threatened alike by his success or failure.

The Gerari, as before said, enjoy a great influence, and preserve important relations with some of the desert tribes, or populations in the districts around them, Arab, Kabayle, or other. Among these may be included the Tajakant, the Bamerani, and other neighbouring Kabayles, as well as the Aaribb south of the former, who are reputed to be a mixed Tuaric tribe.

As a last trait of the character of a people so little understood in Europe, I should observe that during my said visit to the country I received a circumstantial account of the manner in which Mr. Davidson, the African traveller, met his unhappy fate after forming friendships,* as we term it, with the Girari and the Tajakant

* The word friendship is by no means warm enough to express what an alliance with these people means. To claim it

tribes, under the auspices of the Sheichs of Wad Noon.

Mr. Davidson after a long detention at Wad Noon, where these Sheichs tried every means, as the Emperor of Morocco had done, to dissuade him from attempting the journey to Timbuctoo by that road, formed an alliance with the Girari, and through them with the Tajakant, to convey him and his travelling companion Aboubecre, across the Sahra for a thousand dollars. The Tajakant supplied an escort of forty horsemen, and the first ten days were passed without danger, the travellers alighted then in the wilderness of Iggedi, on the borders of the Aàribi, which serves as a pasture ground for camels, and at the dusk of evening four horsemen approached. These made the acquaintance of Mr. Davidson and also tried to dissuade him from going. At early dawn, while the Tajakant were collecting the

by the words Aana be aàrdkoum, or fe horumtic, is an appeal of such force that the man or tribe who should flinch before any difficulty or danger to which a pledge on his part might lead, would become infamous not alone in his own tribe, but throughout the land, among Arabs as well as Kabayles and Tuurics.

camels these strangers, after preparing their horses, suddenly turned and shot Mr. Davidson through the back, who then fell upon his face. The Tajakant ran to arms, but these men said "Beware that you do not incur the same fate. This is the Aàrib country; we are justified in what we have done." The Tajakant were intimidated, and after a short deliberation lowered the arms they had raised to revenge the guest. On their return home, besides serious discussions with the Gerari and the Sheichs of Wad Noon, who felt compromised by the conduct of the Tajakant, the latter I was assured had been insulted by other tribes for having broken their "Aárdah," violated their pledged honor, and some blood had been shed on the same account.

This also I reported to the Earl of Aberdeen on my return to England, more circumstantially than given in the few details which are submitted here but to shew a characteristic more or less binding among all the tribes, and therefore not unprofitable to be known by travellers.

The retirement of the Gerari to the southern mountains of Suse, is said to have occurred at

no very great distance of time, conveying an idea that this removal may have been caused by the march of Mulai Ismael * during that dream of negro conquests which had nearly proved of a disastrous issue. In an earlier age the Gerari were the neighbours of the Graggi, the Hameri, and the Moussa tribes, a portion of their lands on the plain then lying between the waddy Sheshawa and Wad Enfis rivers, which run through the plains of Morocco into the Tensift.

* The success which attended the arms of this monarch in his wars against the Berraber race, no doubt stimulated his ambition to try his fortune beyond the Sahra, as the Mula Emperors, Arshi, and Mulai Dehebbi, had also endeavoured to do, but failed in the outset. When the Arabs wish to taunt the Kabayles, they commonly say, I hope you never omit to pray for the repose of your lord the Sultan Ismael, who left you a knife in each village for the Dabbeha (the sacrifice). This will be more intelligible to the reader by explaining that most of the Kabayles were then so effectually disarmed, that but one knife was left in a community to kill their cattle, and as when frost bitten, maimed, or diseased, it would only be lawful to eat of the flesh, if blood should follow the sacrifice, the Kabayle, it is said, used to cry out "O my brother, by God I adjure thee; the knife for the sacrifice, or the victim will die."

CHAPTER IX.

The Shuah—For some time under the Sceptre of Egypt—Identified with the race of the Patriarch Abraham by his wife Keturah—Chiefly an Agricultural people—Owed allegiance to the late great Sheich el Kanemi—The misfortunes of Jiaffar Prince of Waddai.

SHUAH OR SHUAHI.

THESE people, from all accounts, are of the true Canaanite family. They did not enter Africa at once it is said, but in various bodies and at different times. They were long under the sceptre of Egypt it is contended, and this, we may suppose, was after their expulsion from Canaan. We shall not attempt to shew the precise times of these emigrations; neither to describe the particular

achievements of these tribes in countries so distant from the Atlas as those over which they extended their sway, for those conquests were inland, and through the core of the continent. The race in question did not approach the Atlas at any time, at least the part of these mountains which run parallel with the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and they are unknown in Suse or Mauritanea, a proof that they never traversed those deserts which would have conducted these invaders to kindred tribes, the Amorites and others who conquered those plains and mountains. Their great actions are known in the north but by the reputation they conferred, and nations thereby became familiar with the name Shuah as a race of conquerors in their day, which has been long spent.

It would seem probable that when they quitted the dominions of Egypt, the first time they directed their march up the Nile, whether on the eastern or western side of the river ; unless they should have shaped a course along the eastern shore of the Arabian Gulf and crossing it to Nubia penetrated by this route. However it

may have been, after traversing Kordofan, Foor, and Waddai, or the countries which bear these comparatively modern names, they fell upon the tribes who occupied those lands which surround the Lake Tchad, and established their seat of government at Kanem. From hence they extended their conquests over many parts of tropical Africa. If this invasion of the continent happened in either of the ways described, it would convey an impression that the passage through lower Egypt not being open to these tribes, they therefore penetrated a road which would lead to a part of the river where they might cross without fear of impediment.

As they are supposed to have been some time under the dominion of the Pharaohs, their invasion of Africa may not have occurred before the reigns of David or Solomon; these reigns, but particularly the latter, as the Orientals believe, having contributed vastly to augment the population both of Africa and Europe* by the colonies

* The Toledani, or Jews who once inhabited the mountains of Toledo in Spain, and whose descendants are in Africa, claim the same antiquity.

that monarch sent into those continents from Asia, his relations with Egypt favouring these measures.

The connecting points alone enable us with fair pretensions at the least to identify the Shuah with the race of the Patriarch Abraham by his wife Keturah, a claim which I think is undisputed in Africa ; and but that some of my collection has been mislaid or lost, I could have illustrated this matter on some other points besides the one in question.

In place of this the reader is referred to Gen. chap. xxv. verse 2 and following.

“ And she (Keturah) bare him (Abraham) Zimran and Jokshan, Medan, and Midian and Ishbak, and Shuah.”

While the Shuah, or a portion of these people who had not emigrated, lived under the sceptre of Judah, which would seem to have been the case previous to and in the time of Saul, king or ruler over them, appears to have been an honorary title conferred upon a son of that dynasty as customary also among princes in Africa. So it is inferred, by the meaning of the word

Malchi Shua, one of the sons of Saul, who fell in battle against the Philistines when Saul himself retired from the fight sorely wounded. 1 Chron. x. 2

I think I am correct in saying that there is but one Shuah family or nation known in the Oriental world, and this is the Canaanite race, who conquered and spread themselves over the central countries of Africa to an extent which rivals, or, to reckon from the Nile in Egypt, exceeds that of the Filatah, a race also of kin to the Shouahs, although supposed to be a more mixed people than the latter, as they are more enterprising in this age.

Some account of the Shouahs will be found, I think, in the Travels of Denham and Clapperton, under the name of Shoa. These, the race in question, were an agricultural people chiefly, who still inhabited the countries of the Tchad, the Yeo, and Sharry, but these travellers do not seem to have obtained information concerning either the renown this race had acquired in earlier times, or that the spread of their conquests nearly reached the Indian Ocean,

somewhere between Melinda and the Equator. Thus occupying the plains, or a vast share of their surface, as the Arabs have also done on the side of the Atlas, the Shouah seems to have straitened the mountain tribes in Beggarmi as in the Galla, or Shengalla country, south and west of Abyssinia, besides numerous districts unknown at least in Europe, but whose inhabitants it is stoutly contended are a mixed race, of whom Jews and Christians form a part. To reckon therefore but from Kanem, the last of their conquests north of the Tchad, the extent of land which the Shuah nation may claim as an ancient possession, is nearly 1300 geographical miles on that side, and probably one third that breadth. Apart from the districts of the Ghazel (Waddey) contained within these limits, it would seem that the Shouah had spread into those states which in old maps are called Medra, Mujac, Gingerso, &c., and probably as far as the lands of the Jaga tribes in the latitude of Melinda.

The Shuahs it has been stated entered Africa on more than one occasion, and probably the

last of these armed emigrations was when the Saracens* composed of Arabs and so many other nations, brought the Koran into Africa. The Shuahs have long ceased to dream of conquest. From rulers of those lands, they are now sunk into tillers of their soil for other lords or dynasties to whom they owe allegiance and pay tribute. They are the subjects of many Princes ; as a people they are noted for their industry and good faith. Many of the tribes who are scattered over Bornou owed allegiance to the late great Scheich el Kanemi, who ruled with his Kanemboos the reigning dynasties, and swayed the destinies of an empire, viz. Bornou, the most formidable in Africa, till its western and southern influence was subverted, chiefly, it is said, by that reaction among the countries below the Gambia, which created the Foulah or Fil-

* Many explanations have been given in Europe of the word Saracen, among which, indeed, I have seen what I consider to be the true one. I would only observe, that if we should apply the Oriental meaning to it, (for it is in use among them also), the word is sharaki or sharakin—"eastern" or Oriental simply ; the rule formerly suggested will explain the corrupt sound of the c ; another corruption is the s for sh.

latah movement, and brought those conquerors to the western confines of Bornou proper.

The last trait I would offer of these people, has relation to that Jiaffar Prince of Waddai, a part of whose misfortunes appeared a few years ago in print from the pen of a late friend, who served as Consul-General in Egypt, while Jiaffar was prosecuting his journey to Mecca with the intent to meet his countrymen at the pilgrimage, and by their aid endeavour to penetrate into Waddai, and dethrone his younger brother Yousef, who on the death of his father, (Jiaffar being then under detention in Tripoli,) had ascended that throne to Jiaffar's prejudice.

This narrative, besides what has been published, would be too long to insert, and might be irrelevant, but Jiaffar, the reader may remember from that statement, was the guest or the captive of Yousef Caramanli, Pacha and Sovereign of Tripoli, at whose court he filled the humble post of body guard. The prince was one survivor among a dozen or fourteen souls out of a caffila of three or four thousand pilgrims and rich merchants, who, losing their guide, perished

in the desert. Passing over events which are reserved for another place, and selecting but what is in point, I would observe only that Jiaffar found partizans at Mecca, in the persons of certain Sheichs of the Shouah, and among them one whose sister, a widow of the late King of Waddai, was Jiaffar's mother. Thus far successful and breathing vengeance against his brother and his counsellors, he journeyed with his escort on their return via Dongola. His name quickly raised the tribes, of whom a very formidable number of the Shouah as promptly joined the standard of the prince, and with these he marched straight for Warra, the capital. His brother's army commanded by the minister was totally dispersed, and that functionary slain. Several other engagements ensued and Jiaffar still gained ground. The final battle was fought under the mountains whereon this metropolis stands. My informant said it was long and sanguinary between these brothers (not however children of the same mother) ; Jiaffar at length was wounded and unhorsed : the king's troops seeing this were encouraged to make a charge towards the fallen

prince, and riding over the ground where he fell, the enemy lanced him through the body. Thus untimely as unhappy was the fate of a most amiable youth, the protégé as he was and deserved to be of England; and had he been triumphant, such was his character and such his attachments that he would never have belied either the hopes conceived of him or the promises he gave.

CHAPTER X.

Traditions respecting the Riffi—Reside in Egypt during several generations—The rise of Lebda—The names of the provinces below the Maritime Atlas—The passes of Selin and Dougha—The route travelled by the Riffi in their progress westward—Numerous tribes of Jews admitted amongst—Zoaga—The Riffi known to the Egyptians by the name of Hyksos—The country of the Riffi.

THE RIFFI.

THIS nation, or collection of tribes is reported to be of so great antiquity, that except as respects their entrance into Egypt from the side of Canaan, and their invasion of parts of the Atlas, as also their final settlement in the mountains of western Africa, all which is undisputed, or unquestionable, the time-worn traditions concerning them are open to free conjecture.

We are at liberty to suppose, however, on the

strength of these traditions, that not long after the war, which is described in the Scriptures by the name of the battle of the kings, or of four kings leagued against five, the ancestors of the Riffi were constrained to remove from the eastern to the western continent.

In the vale of Siddim, where the conflict took place, fell the kings of Sodom (the Us-dom of the Arabs), and Gomorrah. Their cities were plundered or destroyed, and Lot was made a captive. The Riffi, or Rephaims of Scripture, for in such particulars these traditions seem to agree, were smitten with the sword, as well as other nations called the Zuzims, the Emims, and the Horites ; together with the Amalekites, and the Amorites, names with which we are more familiar. Gen. xiv.

The Riffi, to use the Arab idiom in speaking of this people, collectively resided several generations it is said in Egypt, and according to others even conquered that country, or a part of it, some of their descendants being still on the banks of the Nile.

Their numbers are supposed to have increased

greatly during their stay in Egypt, and by confederations with other people, but principally with the dispersed armies of the nations who had fought in the same war, they had thus become formidable to the state; like the children of Israel, which may either have caused their expulsion, or produced that trial of strength for supremacy which, tradition says, ended in the triumph of the Riffi, who from the side of Egypt commenced a series of operations, or invasions of Africa.

Instigated by ambition, doubtless, the Riffi took their way along the coast, overpowering the tribes who opposed their march through the Marmarica, and the Sàadi. The provinces of Mesurata, Juma, El Khoms, and the plains of the Cynaphus (El Karatia), were speedily reduced. Lebda, or the metropolis of the Lubims, which under the name of Leptis became famous as the seat of Roman Government, is thought by some to have then taken its rise, its antiquity being compared to that of Damascus. And its sister on the Carthaginian shores, the minor Leptis, may have had a similar origin, although

both should have been swept away by other tides of conquest before the walls of Carthage, Rome, and Cyrene were reared.

This antiquity, as formerly observed, on the entrance of the Greeks in an after age, procured for Africa that other corruption, Libya; although of the two the latter is esteemed the better name, and certainly more appropriate than the name of a corner province like Frikia, (or Africa) of Phrygian origin, for it is but an ingraft of the name of a people who came in ships. This influx of the Riffi met with no effectual resistance in its progress westward, conquering both mountains and lowlands, and occupying those passes of the Gibbel, which open upon the Jerrid and the Sahra. Sovereignty over the central Atlas being thus confirmed, some of the Riffi, sent by their prince or leader from a camp, it is asserted, in the Terhona mountains, built ships, and bent their energies to colonize, or subdue lands beyond the sea. Among these lands are enumerated the Islands of Gerba, the Kerkeni, Lampedosa, Linosa, Pantellaria, Sicily, and the Islands of Malta, whose inhabitants to the present time are

claimed by the Terhona tribes as their posterity, although invaded and subdued by various conquering races in subsequent ages, up to the period of their last dependency upon Oriental and African protection, when Islamism receded in Europe before the Cross, and the Arabs and their converts were gradually constrained to evacuate all the possessions they had acquired beyond the frontier of Africa.

The names of many, or all the provinces or districts which are spread out below the maritime

* As a clue to enable travellers to reconcile the names of places, &c., with the Arab or Oriental pronunciation of those names, I would here observe that the corruption of alphabetical powers which causes the difference, seems to have been made by nations of Europe exclusively. Taking the letter C for an example with its hard and soft sound among us; by reflecting that the Arabs and other eastern people have made no such refinement in their language, it will not be difficult to effect the reconciliation needful in conversing, purity in pronouncing even latin words, being in favour of those people; hence Cyprus, Cyrene, Cynyphus, Cercena, are Koprours, Kyrene, (or Krenna) Kanafia, Kerkenas; so also, with reference to the names of persons, such as Cæsar, Decius the first, Decius the second, &c—Kaisar, Dekius, Dekianous, &c., and the Arabs having no character to correspond with P or G hard, B must be admitted as a substitute for the former, and guttural K for the latter.

Atlas, (Jiffara included) from Lebda to Jerrid, are supposed to have been then given, or that they superseded other names, both of these plains and northern mountains, and of the islands, as well as the main land. The chief of these low-land districts beginning from the East and under the Atlas of Lebda are Terghôt, Emsid, Khotna, El Karatia, Gomata (the district in which the city of Tripoli stands,) Tajmra, El Gaà, El Harsha, Boajela, Lagelat, Zoagha, Zoara, and Zerris; the lands of the Seaàn, Ghoromini, Aràd, and the western Jerrid below Constantine and Algiers.

All these countries, the Gibbel included, were, it seems, the possessions of the Riffi, some generations or ages before the pressure of other invaders of this continent propelled them further to the west, the chief safeguard of these lands as formerly observed being the passes of Selin, and Dougha, the latter on the Wadi Ramel approaching a rocky valley of the Terhona Atlas.

The importance of these passes did not escape the vigilance of the Romans; and while they serve to indicate the limits of Roman authority in

these countries, they also exhibit some curious features in the construction of those castles which were erected to command the passage. In that gorge of the Atlas at Selina, where one of the castles stands, at the elevation of 4,500 feet above the level of the sea, a square built well, solidly constructed, is within half bow shot of the now ruined battlements above it, and at twelve feet below the mouth of the well, is a door-way in the side of it, which, by means of a subterranean gallery, served to communicate with the water, when the garrison was under siege. The castle itself is square and strongly built of large blocks of granite, the flanking towers of which, it is clear, have been cast down by violence, the masonry being otherwise as perfect as when turned out of the workman's hand. The castle at Dougha is larger than that of Selin, apparently because its battlements have been displaced, cast into the moats which once surrounded these edifices, whose distances from the city of Tripoli are one seventy, the other forty miles ; Selin being only nine miles from the sea, and Dougha less than thirty.

We shall not attempt to describe the route these people travelled, in their further progress westward, whether inclining northerly towards those upper coasts which were frequented by the Phœnecians and other Orientals, who came by sea, or westerly along the southern slopes of the Atlas, through the Jerriid, the lands of the Mezzebbi, Tlemsen, and thus to the north-western extremity of Africa, which contains so many Kabayle dependencies of the sovereigns of Fez and Morocco, a route which is commonly pursued by pilgrims and merchants, and even preferred. That by one track or the other they did continue their march to the shores of the Atlantic is clear, for these are the tribes whose descendants now people the greater portion of those mountains on the African coasts which face Gibraltar and the shores of Spain, and whose subdivisions are spread from Cape Spartel to the Melouia River which rises in the Atlas of Suse. Both Fez and Mequenez, cities of after ages, stand in the country conquered by the Riffi, the name by which this territory is still known.

The ancestors of these people admitted numerous tribes of Jews among them, fugitives like themselves from those desolations which have swept over the land of Judah, and which again brought these people in contact with races from Canaan, whose toleration or whose customs and sympathies both in the northern and southern Mauritanian provinces appear to have reconciled both races so well together. This is proved by the duration to the present time of harmony in all the external relations of life, and between Jew and Moslem Kabayle of the south, Canaanite in a stricter sense of that word ; and it is refreshing to the sympathies to behold the Jew in those countries ploughing or reaping from his own lands adjoining those of his Shiloh or other neighbour of the Jebusite and Amorite families ; or when we contemplate these sons of Abraham calmly seated in patriarchal tranquillity, surrounded by their families, and amidst plantations of the olive and the fig-trees, almond and the vine, at four thousand miles distance from the true inheritance their ancestors once enjoyed.

The same aspect no longer exists among

these northern Kabayles, the tribes of Riff, for although as well peopled with Jewish tribes in former ages as the southern clusters of mountains, these have been absorbed principally in the faith of Islam, which many of them in Zion or Zayan, Zimeran, and the Atlas between Tetuan and the Sanctuary of Mulai Idriz, or Fez, voluntarily embraced it is said, and others from compulsion it may be supposed, after the entrance of the Arabs in the seventh century. Those who stood stedfast left the country for better security in the towns, as we behold them now residing in Barbary generally.

Among other towns erected while the Riffi were on the plains of the central Atlas, that of Zoagha is spoken of as having been a metropolis or place of some note. It is still a village and district of some extent, at seventy miles below or to the south and east of the island of Gerba, between the confines of Tripoli and Tunis. They are also supposed to have built Thena on the north shores of the minor Sirtis Gulf, the relics of which are devoid of interest, and buried in the soil or washed by the waves.

If the same people as the Rephaim of the Scriptures, these were the predecessors of those nations on the borders of Canaan, by whom they were subdued, and expelled the land. In any case they are reputed to have come out of the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and the Bahar Lout, or Lot, where the cities of the plain then stood ; and the evidence of things seems to denote that they occupied those lands before the time of the Jebusites. Whether the kindred of the Anakims it is left to conjecture, or otherwise they are believed to have been a people of some renown in that early period when the Babylonians already extended their empire over so many countries of the East and West.

Consisting as they did of many district tribes, if not races, whether the Riffi, or Rephaim as a body, or in part, were also known to the Egyptian and other nations by the name of Hyksos, who, according to some late authorities, invaded and conquered Egypt twenty-one centuries before the time of Christ, is a question also left to be learned by researches, the labours of which can be but little aided, it is probable, either by history or

tradition, from the circumstance that in some instances, it is known, that the same people may be distinguished by names given to them, which are foreign to the names they bear among themselves or among nations approximate to them.

It is admitted, however, that the light that has been, or may yet be extracted from those monumental sculptures and tablets, both of Assyria and Egypt, which, by the energetic efforts of men like Mr. Layard has reflected from sepulchres (monuments which had been buried so many ages), may still increase to the clearer understanding of a past so full of interest. In the absence of such evidence we can only think that often times it was a policy of the Pharoahs or other Egyptian rulers, as it is known to have been the policy of the Khalifs, to balance the destinies of African nations at that toll gate of Asia, the passes of Suez and the Nile, by encouraging, or forbidding when their power permitted, the constant pressure of the Orientals, or inclination to rush into the western continent. For by the power this conferred the rulers of Egypt were to a considerable extent

rulers of the destinies of Africa, by the terror this power created even without the march of armies.

The Riffi are believed to have engrafted their name upon a part of the delta of the Nile, as did the Usbec Tartars in after ages, the citadel and one half of Cairo, with the district around it, being still called El Usbekia.

Riffi, or rather Rephaim, or the country of the Riffi, as in the Hebrew dialect it might be called, is the name of a plain or valley described to be on the south-west side of the Holy City, and to extend from its walls to the country around Bethlehem, the valley of Hinnon running diagonally with it. Its length is stated to be about six or seven miles, and its breadth considerable. The soil is also said to be of the richest nature, producing the olive, mulberry, and grape.

During the occupation of this land by the tribes of Israel, David, as we read, defeated the Philistines on two memorable occasions in or near the valley or plain of Rephaim, 2 Sam. v. 19 to 22.

The country now enjoyed by these people, who, in this age, are composed of many mixed races,

besides tribes of a pure descent, such as the Kibdani, and some others of the interior, extends 150 miles each way. Being within the dominions of one of the three kingdoms, viz., Fez, (or El Gharb,) over which the sceptre of Morocco is extended, these tribes owe allegiance to its government; but the holders of that sceptre often experience great difficulty and many mortifications, while endeavouring to support even a mild exercise of authority over them. And the dignity of this government, compromised at times by the lawless character of these Kabayles, has been humbled in its apology to foreign states, by an open confession of its impotence to obtain satisfaction for wrongs by hostile measures.

Of late years their audacity has been displayed in the commission of some acts of piracy, and attempts to capture English vessels, which, from the inability alone of Mulai Abderahman, the present emperor, to put a stop to without the risk, or indeed the certainty, of a war with all his northern Kabayles, entailed a naval castigation on their coasts by the order of a British admiral.

These were the tribes who so eagerly enlisted

under the standard of the prophet in the seventh century, who crossed with the Arabs into Spain, and who conjointly reached the Pyrenees with the rapidity known and described in various works written by Oriental authors, ancient and modern; among the latter is a revived, or improved manuscript of the Berj ed Dehebbi, written at Kairowan, and the work of Sidi Hamdan ben Ali Khoja, of Algiers.

These northern Kabayles, besides the ancient tribes spoken of, are composed of a variety of nations, Asiatic and European, ancient and modern, from the ages when Assyria, Egypt, and Phœnecia, ruled the destinies of this continent with fleets and armies, to the age when the Moriscoes were so barbarously despoiled, expelled from Spain, and, according to the shewing of the descendants of those survivors who escaped the fangs of the Inquisition and the malice of their enemies, cast overboard, or sunk in masses on the transit from coast to coast, á la noyade, the honour of which invention seems to have belonged to the Spanish Inquisition in the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The country of these Kabayles, consisting as it does of hills partly covered with forest and mountains of considerable elevation beyond them, is rich in all the productions of the earth needful for the sustenance of a vast population. That population exists, and naturally of a fierce or warlike disposition, resentful of injuries, jealous of their rights, and constantly alert, to preserve the fidelity of such formidable tribes of mountaineers, who are more active and better soldiers than the standing army is composed of, forms a most difficult feature in the government of those states ; as indeed it might prove difficult for the sovereign of any country to control spirits so indomitable, so well armed, and who can never be taken by surprise, in mountains the defiles of which are always guarded.

Chronology gives the foundation of Nineveh by Ninus, at 2,233 B. C. It was besieged and taken by Arbaces, which finished the kingdom of Assyria ; Sardanapalus burnt himself to death, and the kingdom was subdivided 821 B. C., the breaking of which power would seem to have given rise to the Carthaginian state, estab-

lished so soon afterwards upon the ruins of Assyrian dominion in Africa, as it may also have occasioned, a few generations later, the erection of the walls of Rome. The Medes became masters in 612 B. C. Noah was still living while those famous walls of Nineveh were erecting which were one hundred feet high and surmounted by 1500 towers, one hundred feet above them, walls which occupied 400,000 men eight years in building.

“Woe to the bloody city ; it is full of lies and robbery ; the prey departeth not.”

“There shall the fire devour thee, the sword shall cut thee off, it shall eat thee up like a canker worm.”

“Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of Heaven.”—Nahum. iii. 1, 15, 16, &c.

“Thy crowned are as the locusts.”

“O king of Assyria thy nobles shall dwell in the dust.”

CHAPTER XI.

The Fillani—Story of the Phileni—The Fillani subdue many States in the Sahra—Gain possession of the States of Manding—Accept the Koran—Reaction against the faith of Islam—The Fillani rise to great power.

FILLANI.

THE Fillani, or lte Fillan, were a race of emigrants from Canaan or its neighbourhood, who are believed to have entered Egypt either during the reign of David or Solomon, the extension of the authority of Judea over the surrounding states rendering it uncertain whether these people may not originally have come from the side of Mesopotamia or Cappadocia. But as

the predominating opinion seems to be that they were of the true race of Canaan or its borders, insertion is given to them among the other families of that land. Those who entertain the latter belief, affirm that the Fillani are the same race as the Fellah or Fellahin, both of Egypt and Palestine, the "Pholeys," or Foulahs of the Gambia, the Philistines, it is thought or affirmed, of past ages, the Filatahs of the present age. That they made war against David is also admitted : hence without reference to the analogy that may seem to belong to any of these names, it is but a reasonable inference that the Fillani fell back upon Egypt about the tenth century before Christ, and entered Africa, if not at that time, yet not many ages after. Among other reasons for thinking so, there is a page in the Africa of Herodotus, which reflects a little light upon the same people it is presumable, subjects of the Carthaginian state, and who gave one of the most memorable proofs of patriotism or devotion to their country upon record. By this is meant that famous contest between the rival cities of Carthage and Cyrene, which after much exhaus-

tion ended by a mutual agreement that runners from each country should start at a fixed time, and the spot where they might meet on the plain should determine the respective boundaries. The story is so well known that it is needful only to say, that triumph and death were the recompense sought and obtained by the Carthaginian champions, to confirm the lawful claim they asserted to a boundary between their respective countries at a point of meeting disadvantageous to the Greeks, who would only consent to it upon condition that their Carthaginian adversaries should submit to be buried alive on the spot, and this was accordingly done. An altar was afterwards raised by their grateful country in commemoration of this self devotion. The point I would arrive at only is the name given to these martyrs, the memory of the Phileni, which has already survived twenty-five centuries or more, may never pass into oblivion. But who these Phileni were except good subjects, I have never read in books ; yet own at least my opinion on the point, and give it now from the connection it has with the subject before me.

This opinion upholds that the runners spoken of could have been no other than the race in question, i.e., the Filleni, either spelling serving alike. To explain further, Phileni,* like Fillani, meant to say that these devoted sons of Carthage were natives of Taffilet, a name by which alone it is possible to describe these people and the country some of their posterity still inhabit, whose principal employment with respect to the wants of Europe is to climb at no insignificant hazard those lofty palms which grow so abundantly on these among other plains, and gather that date which to the native is ordinary winter food, and to us a superfluity, or at least a luxury to those who from habit have acquired a taste for the delicious fruit.

I should excuse myself to my readers for the length of explanations which may appear trivial to others, but which to me seem unavoidable. The chief value in my own humble conception, is the proof they seem to afford that these plains,

* Fezzan also is spelt with the Ph in our old charts, not incorrectly, although unnecessarily, and wrongly, as increasing the confusion of names.

viz., of Taffilet as well as the Jerrid adjoining to it, contained the true subjects of the republic of Carthage, the Filleni, and the Jerridi, or, as the latter were then called, the Aàradi. This last name has been partly absorbed, but still adheres to the eastern part of the Jerrid, nearly from Cafsa (or Capsa) and Tozer to Gabs on the minor Syrtis Gulf: the country, as it is now properly called, of El Aàrad.

These Fillani also seem to have taken the direction of the Sahra, which it is allowed they swept with irresistible force of arms under a king or chief, whose descendants for many generations ruled all the tribes of those plains. The authority of the Amori and the Kabayles in the northern Atlas would appear to have been in full vigour at this period, and hence it may have happened that these tribes were unable to effect a lodgment on the elevated lands of the Atlas; although from their seat of government near the banks of the river Dràa, they were powerful enough to subdue many states, or confederated tribes in the Sahra. It would seem from this account that the Fillani marched southerly from the back of the Atlas

to those countries of the Senegal and Gambia, on the Bahar Andar and Ahmar of the Arabs, which by conquest over the Ethiopian tribes, the Jollofs, or other, became an inheritance of their own. These acquisitions were the Fouta-Toura, Fouta-Jallou, Kasson, and some other districts near the frontier of Bambara, countries which intersect the route taken by the traveller Park on his way to the "Jolliba."*

The Fillani are supposed to have given the names which many of those countries and the rivers that flow through them still retain, and which are distinct from those of the aborigines. The states of Manding among other districts in

* If these pages were devoted to the object of making critical remarks generally, there are many things that would have claimed such notice besides the word "Jolliba" or Niger of Park, which has already stood the test of half a century. What if I were to say there is no river known by this name! at least to the Moslem populations, or travellers who visit those countries? yet I am inclined to think that Park's editor may have mistaken his writing. The name of the upper part of the Niger is described to be the Ghulbi, the mighty or conquering stream. By Negro lips it would be pronounced Yalibi, from which the mistake may possibly have happened. The lower part is known as the Koara. Another supposition is that Park's informer told him that the river ran to Youraba, as in truth it does.

the south are supposed also to have become absorbed in the conquests made by these people, who settled down quietly in their new possessions. In the age when the Arabs pursued the same line of march, whatever change may have taken place among the Fillani of those regions in this interval of time, more of their nation who followed the standard of the Prophet from Palestine, Taffilet, the Atlas and the Sahra, entered the same countries and effected the conversion of a people who were one of the first to embrace Islam in the lands south of the great or western Desert.

Such, from the accounts given by natives of the north of Africa, would appear to be the origin and progressive increase of Fillani power. Accepting the Koran as they did for their rule of life, no pretext for war was left; nor would it have been justifiable, but with this additional stimulus they were enabled soon to impose the law upon the nations around them. The same people were the sinews of the Khalifat in those western countries, the dissolution of which by the Tartars, and the occupation of Egypt,

plunged the whole of Soudan, or nations of the south, in war and convulsions, each Pacha and tributary Sultan struggling in the confusion that ensued to consolidate his power by grasping the dominions of his neighbour, without regard to the provisions of the new law.

This state of things, it is affirmed, retarded the progress of the faith at that period and for a long time afterwards; but it is also admitted that many wrongs and great injustice had prevailed among the Pachas, and delegates sent to govern the people during the latter times of the Khalifat itself; and the "Jahid," the crusaders, if I may so call the warriors, for the Koran, on the plains of Palestine, may have contributed to the disorganization spoken of.

It is allowed by all that the construction of many delegated governments in these countries generally, Pachalics, Kaideries, &c., was so crude that with all the vaunted simplicity or efficacy of the Koranic laws, the people too often reaped no more benefit from those institutions than as if they had been totally subservient to military rule.*

* The state of things referred to, judging from the free

The state of things below the Sahra, where the faith of Islam had been propagated to an extent proportionate, it would seem, to the strides it had made in the eighth century over the islands and the northern shores of the Mediterranean, was promising for that faith before the ninth century. Nevertheless it did not satisfy those who, ani-

descriptions given of evils such as may have attended the decline and fall of the Empire of Rome, as well as that of the Moguls, will bear but one and the same interpretation. Corruption of the laws, ambition, recklessness of their administrators, and the consequent depravity and disgust of the people. To give one example I select the following :—A certain Pacha, in the good old times of the Ottomans, the ruler of a distant dependency of the empire, became so notorious for his rapacity and tyranny, that the people, wearied with their sufferings and sunk in despondency, prayed for a Kadi to come among them who would not flinch from a scrupulous administration of the law. This prayer in time was heard. Such a Kadi, selected by the Sultan himself through the high reputation acquired by this judge in his last employ was sent to the said Pachalic, much against the will of the Pacha no doubt. The Kadi, on presenting at the audience given to him his authority from the Sultan and the Mufti, retired again with a gravity of countenance which defeated the keen penetration of this Pacha during the interview. At the close of the day the Pacha returned the Kadi his official visit. Seating himself unceremoniously, he said abruptly “Kadi, your exalted merit has even reached my knowledge; and as I am very frank in my dealings, learn of me that I

mated by an impetuous zeal, as the bulk of the Arabs were, expected but triumph and conversion with the rapidity witnessed under the Atlas on the first entrance of the Arabs. Reaction, and defeat in Nigritia and the Sahra, were the consequences of too little forethought or too

also have a reputation which it is fair you should know. Learn then, I am called Cara Sheitan (the black devil) from my great severity. For having a hard, rebellious people to deal with, it is my maxim to make short work of it, as well as of Kadis, such as your predecessors, who may consider themselves fortunate indeed if I only send them to wander about this world instead of the next. Now regulate yourself by what I tell you of these people and myself." The Kadi hereupon casting aside all his assumed gravity, burst into a loud laugh, and said, "Well met, Cara Sheitan. Thou art indeed a dear brother, but I perceive thou knowest no more of me than the Divan knows. Learn, however, that your renown does not excel my fame, and if yours is well earned mine is no less so, for with just title I am called in the province where I gained that repute Ben Azrael (the son of the angel of death), from the extreme inflexibility with which I judged the sons of men. This meeting is a most felicitous event, for while the black devil disposes freely of the bodies, the son of the angel of death will give passports to carry their souls to a place where neither soul nor body will need the good things they leave behind." If any moral can be deduced from this, it may be applicable to the delegated authority from other besides Oriental countries.

much infatuation and cupidity together, as the same reaction produced in the sequel the same effect among the Kabayles of the Atlas when these people triumphed over the occupants of their plains, and established the western Khalifat as they claim to have done. So likewise it had dispersed and hurled back upon the Pyrenees, those elements of the Saracenic power, which escaped from that conflict near Poitiers in 732, whose effect was to free all but the western peninsular of Europe gradually from that religious war, which was also checked in Ethiopia, by the passions, it is affirmed, of the Moslem princes themselves, more than by any combinations of purely Ethiopic power.* To these passions, loosened by the changes of government north of the desert, at

* Reasoners upon these things advert to the system of Egypt under Mohammed Ali, and the wars of Ibrahim Pacha in Arabia and Syria, and say that the case of thiopia was not dissimilar to that of Syria and Anatolia, both which countries were despoiled and subjected to the most lawless acts of oppression ; and such is the terror a name sometimes inspires, that the mere mention of the Pacha Ibrahim, although dead, causes the poor Syrians still to tremble, nor do they ever breathe it but in a whisper, under a belief that he has only retired for a time and may return ; or even if dead might injure the living still from the land of spirits.

Baghdad, on the Nile, and at Kairowan, and the reactions begotten through the cupidity of Moslem princes, who, instead of converting their idolatrous or unbelieving subjects, *nolens volens*, reserved them, and encouraged their increase for the gain they produced in the slave-market :—to these obstacles it is attributed by those who are of rigid principles and primitive notions, the fairest hopes have partially yielded on both sides of Africa below the Sahra. The dissolution of those bands which linked the southern lands with the northern, and with Egypt or the western Khalifat, converted Kaids into great commanders, and Pachas into Sultans, whose wars were without end for several generations, while the faith stood still.

The plains indeed became the possessions of the believer, but the mountains, unlike those of the Atlas, which received that faith, were left (unlawfully as it is contended, and rightly too according to the Koran) as the portion of the idolators upon the condition of paying tribute, where it could be enforced, and this consisted principally of slaves, although gold, ivory, drugs,

&c., formed a part of it. Many of the dynasties besides, which were of the old families, returned after having been expelled; now indeed as Moslem princes, and attended by Moslem followers or armies of their former subjects, no resistance was offered or could have lawfully been made to the rule of these Sultans over their people, however nominal their authority, like the monarch of Bornou when visited by Major Denham.*

The foregoing matter, which may appear in the light of a digression, is not intended for such, but rather to exhibit to the reader while speaking

* In this age it is to be understood that the Arab considers himself but the subject of the state in which he resides, while cultivating that soil for which he agrees to pay a tenth of its products. Political rights belong but to the towns, and he as a mere cultivator for a time does not dream that he is entitled to any after a lapse of so many ages since the dissolution of Arab power. This refers to the agriculturist in settled districts, although all Arabs feel the same. How small the effort would have been for El Kanemy, who ruled Bornou for its sultan, to have done so for himself, but a throne was a forbidden thing to him. Formerly Abd el Kader, great as were his actions and meriting any distinction they might confer upon him, felt the same when he said, "Why do they in Europe call me Emir; I am but an Arab, the sheich of Maskera, and the son of my father."

of the countries beyond the Sahra, the substance of a variety of conversations with the better informed among Orientals, illustrative of the same emigrations and the same invasions even from Canaan as the lands of the Atlas experienced. "Did not the ocean, as if envious of my glory impede the further advance of my troops," said one of these chiefs on reaching the Atlantic, "I feel that by God's will I could conquer the world." Ardour like this, as like that which inspired some of the earlier invasions, could not succumb, hence it naturally found a vent north or south in Spain, or among the nations of Ethiopia.

These conversations further informed me that out of the convulsions which shook society throughout Nigritia in the manner described, the Fillani rose to great power, and gradually absorbed all the central and western kingdoms, establishing that great empire known in these times by the name of Filatah, a people who now inherit an authority which in earlier times was exercised by the sovereigns of Bornou.

The brethren of these people who remained

in Taffilet are supposed to be of a purer descent, although it is admitted that all are mixed. As slaves, of whom many Filatahs are to be met with in Barbary, they are the least esteemed of any, their warlike propensity being doubtless an obstacle to the training in domestic habits, which all slaves need on being taken into families ; for in truth slavery is but a name in this eature and in these countries, although so grievous or so frightful in that mechanical form of it in the new world, which startles as well as surprises an awakened generation, that it can have been tolerated so long.

When the world may be favoured with the researches made by the great and successful traveller in Africa, Dr. Barth, doubtless much valuable information will appear concerning races and countries so little known in Europe. In the mean time some notice is claimed by a pamphlet written by Mr. T. J. Hutchinson of the Tsadda Binué Exploring Expedition on the Anthropology of the Filatahs, as they are called by many nations besides the Bornoui, or Bornouise, which work was read before the Literary and

Philosophical Society of Liverpool in May, 1855. "In Houssa," this author says, "they are called Felanas, and by each other Foulahs." He also says "they are a race originally descended from a mixture of Arabian and Negro blood." "Some persons say," it is added, "that the *original* Filatahs were descendants of the Carthaginian race, mixed with Negro blood; others that they came down from the Arabs who invaded eastern Africa from Asia in the seventh century." "Moreover," he continues, "the Bedouins of the Desert (to repeat a former observation), the Tuarics and the pastoral Foulahs are of the same descent." Without further remark on the complexity of this genealogy I can at least bear testimony to the correct description given by this author as to the descent of the Fillani, Fellanas, Fellahin, or Filatahs, from the Carthaginians as once the subjects of that republic. But beyond this antiquity my information reaches three or four centuries higher in tracing those people to the Philistines. I have not had the advantage of perusing *L'Histoire et Origine des Foulahs ou Fellans*, written by Gustave d'Eichtal, which, however to be re-

gretted on account of the interest of the work itself, could no otherwise affect these gleanings in the north.

In closing these remarks I would only add as an opinion, that no society could be better adapted or qualified to complete a task whose ground is broken by these faint lights than that well-projected institution called the Society for Exploring and Evangelizing Central Africa by means of native agency. The views and principles as understood to form the basis of an undertaking which for efficacy with economy promises well, are such it is believed as must lead to successful results of some kind, or to some extent, and by the shortest road.

CHAPTER XII.

The Ammoni—Came originally from the plains of Jordan—The doomed nations—The invasion of Canaan by the Israelites in a military point of view—Conjectures respecting the missing tribes—The growth of Asiatic power in Africa—The country of the Ammonites devastated by the Israelites—The Ammonites led by Dhu l'Karnin to the conquest of the World—Spread over the plains of Lybia—The Greeks make war upon them—Later history of this race.

AMMONI.

IT AMMONI, Beni Ammoun, or Ammouni, are equivalent in meaning to the Nasammoni of old authors, borrowed, it is presumed, from the work of Herodotus ; and all are reconcilable with the word “ Ammonite ” of the Bible. Of this no question seems to exist, or could be started, that should lean for support upon Arab or Kabayle testimony : nay, the tribes themselves, not indeed

of Ammon only, although rejoicing at their redemption from the age of Johelia, or of barbarism, and sighing over the idolatry of their ancestors, claim, or at least do not deny, their descent from Lot.

The Ammoni seem originally to have come to the plains of the Jordan as strangers to the country, as the Israelites came themselves. Together with the Moabites, their true brethren by descent, they conquered and expelled a gigantic race called Zamzumins, Deut. ii. 20, 21, the builders of a metropolis afterwards in Africa, viz., of the Zauzouri, if, as supposed, these are the same people.

The depopulation or expulsion of the nations established in Canaan, and along the Jordan, and sea of Lot, as the Arabs call the Dead Sea, did not follow suddenly after Joshua had defeated in battle those whom by the Divine decree were doomed to fall by the sword of Israel. On the contrary, with many of these people it was a gradual wasting ; alternate submission and resistance, in which they shared defeat and triumph with the race of God's selection. Some besides

were left to pine as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Yet others "remained to be thorns in the side of Israel, and as agents to castigate their impiety."

"I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land." Exodus xxiii. 29, 30.

This, besides, is reconcilable with the influx of those tribes into Africa periodically from Canaan through Egypt or Arabia, yet continuously for many ages, as exemplified also in the entrance of the Amori and Fillani families. These people, as before said, occupied the left bank of the Jordan or country eastward of that river, over which dominion ruled Sihon their king, at the time of the passage of the river by the Israelites under Joshua.

The nations marked for destruction were the Hivites, the Gergashites, Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Amorites, and Jebusites, seven in number, and these alone; the rest were to be

spared or not molested without a lawful cause, such as that of resenting an act of aggression, or repelling inroads.

To view this invasion of the Israelites in a light distinct from all but its military aspect, humble as my claim is to a knowledge of this kind, it seems to carry conviction with it, that no more judicious plan for investing that land could have been devised than the one adopted by Joshua for turning the whole position of those adversaries, and forcing the river at a part which, on the fall of Jericho, brought the Israelites into the heart of Canaan, and on the flanks or at the backs of the doomed nations. With the sea in his front, while marching to the westward from the Jordan, it requires no effort of imagination to perceive that the adversary when defeated had no retreating ground in his rear, except through that Sahel, as the Arabs call it, the plain of the coast, or of Sharon, escape from which could only be effected by dispersed armies of these emigrants, which poured from and through this land into Egypt or Arabia, the overflow of which countries it must also be manifest to every

one, could only have the vent this population found on the plains and mountains of Africa. "And all the people and the captains of the armies arose and came to Egypt, for they were afraid of the Chaldees."—2 Kings xxv. 26. But supposing the missing tribes to have been taken to Babylon, might they not have been placed in Arabia, a country which, up to the age of Mohammed, owed allegiance to the rulers on the Euphrates?

We might then carry our inquiry after the lost tribes of Israel, with equal probability, at least into this immense continent, for, as a voluntary act, where but to Egypt and Africa should the fugitive Jews emigrate, (as the Canaanites had formerly done) before an enemy like the Babylonians, who had penetrated the country from the east as Joshua had done in a previous age. It is an undoubted fact, that with all the immensity of that power which under the name of Sharakin (Saracen) the Arabs brought into Africa with the new, or as they say the revived Faith, they were still unable for many ages to reduce or absorb the

Jewish tribes, even on the plains, and force the non-conformists into towns ; nor were those conquerors ever able to accomplish this effectually in the south, as seen by the residue of those Jewish clans in the Shtukà and other parts of the ancient kingdom of Suse, or of the Amori.

The design of this retrospect is to render more intelligible the growth of Asiatic power in Africa, until it absorbed, as it has done nearly time out of mind, and up to the age we behold, almost the whole of what once might have been considered as Libyan or Ethiopian. The entrance of the Amorites in turn into Egypt and Africa, although probably not their first, carries us forward to an age comparatively within the scope of our reasoning faculties, for this must have happened as late as the declining years of David, as will be shewn in the sequel.

The same injunction against molesting the descendants of Esau, it should be remembered was most impressive in the beginning. .

“ Meddle not with your brethren of Esau, for I will not give you of their land, no not so much as a foot breadth. Ye shall buy meat of them

for money, and ye shall buy water of them for money." Deut. ii. 5, 6.

The same injunction was there given concerning the children of the Ammon. But it happened when David was King, that Hanun the King of the Amorites brought destruction upon himself and people by a flagrant insult to David's messengers sent to condole with Hanun and congratulate that Prince on his accession to the throne. The war that followed involved the Ammonites in the most fearful calamities, for defeated in battle with great slaughter, as their auxiliaries or allies out of Syria and Mesopotamia had also been, no further resistance availed in the open field. The city of Rabbah was besieged and destroyed, together with its inhabitants, whose punishment for the wrong committed by their King was death by torture; the country of the Ammonites was ravaged, and the spoil taken to Jerusalem, as also the crown, which David took from the head of Hanun and put upon his own head. These indeed were the prosperous days of Israel. The Philistines were subdued, Gath taken, Moab as well

as Ammon were smitten and became the servants of the Israelites, who, together with the Syrians brought gifts to David. Such of the enemy's towns as had been spared received garrisons, Damascus included, and the land was put to tribute ; yet as it was a war for the consolidation of the elements of David's power, the pauses in it were but short, and as the flame subsided in one quarter it burst out afresh in another. 1 Chr. xviii. xix. xx.

Our guide to these events, are the years before Christ, from 1042 to 1018, or twenty-four years, during which the land would seem to have been as much, perhaps more extensively convulsed than at the time of its conquest by Joshua. It was within these years it is believed, nearly three centuries before the walls of Rome were erected, that large emigrations poured afresh into Egypt, Arabia and Africa. The Moabites, from proximity or necessity, are believed to have fallen down the eastern shores of the Red Sea ; the Philistines and the Amorites retreated upon the isthmus that forms a separation between the two continents. Being admitted into Egypt the

lands on the Libyan side of the Nile were assigned to these people, who are described to have erected many towns, and temples also, besides that far-famed Temple of Jupiter in the valley of Sewah, the Oum el Beida of the Arabs, the reputation of whose oracle was not alone confined to Africa and Egypt, as we know from the toil incurred and the gifts bestowed by Alexander the Great in order to consult it.

The Ammoni are described to have become a great people in after ages, and were led, it is supposed, by God's appointment, (for so it is claimed as by the Israelites) with many other nations of the east, under the celebrated Dhu l'Karnin, to the conquest of the world, as the Orientals believe, or of the evil doers in it. But apart from these things the tribes of the Ammoni are certainly known to have spread over the country from the confines of Egypt or the Nile to the western extremity of the greater Syrtis Gulf, and the eastern frontier of Fezzan, enclosing and including in their possessions the Sàadi and Barka, or that land which became the Cyrenaica of the Greeks. This would imply a breadth of territory of about

500 geographical miles; but this is insignificant compared with the reputed extent of the invasions made by these people, particularly inland through the countries of the Bahar Abyad, the Ghazel, and the Tchad, where it is supposed some of these tribes still remain, like the Shouahi it is asserted, or like so many other nations of Canaan, whose object was a settlement, not a return from the lands they might conquer. The Jagas, like the Caffres, are a people of whom we know but little, and of their origin nothing, nor do the Arabs of the north seem to be familiar with these names, except in the opprobrious application of the latter, viz. Caffer (or Infidel) to their enemies, as the Tartars are said to employ the word Kalmuc. It is not ventured to conjecture any thing concerning those southern settlements of the Ammoni by introducing the Jaga tribes, but it may be permitted to think, that the habits of both were not or are not irreconcilable.

A few centuries after the Ammonites had spread over the plains of Lybia, the Greeks colonized the maritime parts opposite their coasts,

building those cities of Cyrene, Barka, and others, which absorbed the old names of Sàadi and Lebda in those of the Cyrenaica, the Pentapolis, Syrtis, &c. The Libyans, in the estimation of the more polished Greeks, were but savages or barbarians, as the latter were too prone to consider and treat all strangers whom they considered as enemies; for little distinction existed between them. Indeed, no protection seems to have been afforded to these subjects, but the contrary appears to have been the case, for the Greeks made war upon them. The vague knowledge they acquired of the tribes and interior country is consequently less surprising. Nor have we much reason to marvel at the tale which I think Herodotus relates of some tribes of these Libyans or Ammonites, whose lands having been parched up by the south wind, armed themselves, and marched against it; but after struggling resolutely they perished in the contest. The view to be taken of this is that certain tribes, probably weary of their insecurity under the government of these strangers, took the resolution to emigrate to the lands of the south, whither other portions

of this nation had preceded them, or were marching to take possession about the same time.

The race of Ammoni, or of Lot, now mixed with other Kabayle races, with Philistines, Arabs, Copts, (Koubdi), Fellahin, and Tibboo (Thebi), still pasture their cattle on the same plains, visit those of the Sirt, and cultivate the land along that waddey of Siwah, among others, which still contains relics of the greatness or refinement of their ancestors.

This part of the continent is said to have contained a few ages afterwards a dense population of Jews, whose tribes could only have fled from domestic wars, or the Babylonian invasion and conquest.

Apart from those distant invasions, and settlement of the race of Ammon in the lands of the south, the bulk of this nation did not quit the Nile of Egypt, but as rulers in Thebes at one period they became identified with the Thebi or Theboo (the Tibboo as we erroneously call them) and now share with them the common lot of nations in the eastern Sahra, whither they fled, or were expelled on the conquest of Egypt by the Persians.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Tuaricks—A mixed race—The Sahra—The Bartagi—The Tuaricks of pure descent, invaders of the Atlas—The country over which the Tuarick tribe extends—Its ranges of mountains—The African Tornado—Costume and habits of the Tuaric race—United their arms in certain ages with Phœnician and Phrygian colonists—The Punic Wars—The Tuaricks expel the Gharammi from the Upper Sahra—Their identity with the Trojans considered—The Filatah Sultan—Mr. J. J. Hutchinson on the Origin of the Tuarics—The Tuaric and Foulah kindred-ship—The pure Tuarics once Kabayles of the Atlas—The mixed Tuaric races.

TUARICKS.

From the accounts given of these people as a nation, there is not another in Africa composed of more mixed races. Yet this is not to be understood as implying incorporation, and intermixture of blood generally; although it is known that most of the tribes can no longer claim a pure descent from those ancestors who first came into Africa. On the other hand there is a pure

Tuaric race said to be the true descendants of those warlike tribes who are allowed to have been irresistible in ancient times. These tribes occupy principally the western and central parts of the Sahra below the parallel of Cape Bojador on the Atlantic side, and stretching nearly to Agadez, the Santa Cruz of the Spaniards.

The intermixture spoken of implies an association of distinct races in a country such as the Sahra, which, to compare with rights belonging to common land in Europe, is open to receive all comers, and free for pasturage, where space will allow, without prejudice to other tribes, hence the Tuaric is even a more unsettled being than the Arab. The Sahra besides is the natural receptacle for dethroned dynasties, defeated armies and expelled nations, as might be exemplified in the case of Marocquine dynasties, in the princes descended from the old Sultans of Tripoli and Fezzan, in the Abyssinian and Ghozor Mameluke Beys of Egypt, in the Wandali or Vandals, and some other comparatively modern instances. But without attempting to enumerate the classes of people so little known, who

from living in the Sahra and in confederation with the Tuarics, are commonly described as the same race, it may suffice to say they are composed of tribes the descendants of all nations, including those of Canaan who, through the revolutions of governments, invasions, and occupations of their lands by other conquerors on or near the Atlas, have been forced to emigrate again. The Sahra even contains its "Bartagi" or Portuguese tribes, of little consideration indeed as regards descent in the estimation of those proud neighbours of Arabian stocks, whose lands they border between the Capes Bojador and Blanco. For it is remembered that these Bartagi are the children of those enemies of the faith of Islam who once usurped the upper coasts, and ruled an extensive part of Morocco until they were exterminated, or expelled to the wilds their tribes now rove over for a precarious subsistence, like the gypsies* in Europe. Yet

* That the black-eyed races of mankind have not all taken a southern route out of Asia we know, and those people we call Gypsies have been adduced as one instance of an eastern or Egyptian emigration. But why should it be supposed that these tribes entered Europe from the east

these people often encamp on that dangerous part of the desert coast which has proved so fatal to navigators, of this country above all, and they are at least as desperate wreckers as the Arabs and Tuaricks, often destroying their Christian captives or selling them into slavery.

The Tuaricks of pure descent are known to have been invaders of the Atlas, and extensive ravagers or conquerors in an early age of some

necessarily implying that they crossed at the Bosphorus or Hellespont, unless we should suppose that they rounded the Euxine, of which events we have nothing authentic. Might we not suppose rather that their ancestors crossed the Mediterranean in ships, and formed part of those invading armies of Saracens who, on their defeat by Charles in France or other mishap in Italy, escaped, or were spared from slaughter only to linger out the life of outcasts, and endure the persecutions their habits and their poverty have entailed from all the settled families of the earth? It may not be understood by all that our ingrafts of various kinds from the East, and adoption of words or idioms which are not few, soon become imperceptible from their common use, if discernible on their adoption. To instance one only—"You must think it absurd," said a friend with whom I was walking, "to see such a name as Tally-ho painted on a public vehicle," pointing to one then passing. "On the contrary," I replied, "if the conception of the proprietor should agree with my own, which I allow to be improbable, I think he could not have selected a better device than the one which

of the western parts of those mountains, from the Kaff in Tunis to the Atlas behind Tlemsen, or of that interior chain which overlooks the Sahra of Algiers.

Convulsions, and especially the great convulsion that marked the downfall of Carthage, forced or induced these people to abandon their possessions in these mountains, which had become their patrimony. For it is evident that the Romans, like the Carthaginians, or even the by analogy simply means 'walk in, ladies and gentlemen.'" I need not add that further explanation was required by this friend. What meaning, if any, may be attached to the words in question, beyond a rally during or after the chase in England, I know not. I am ignorant indeed of any signification that would bear a translation; denoting therefore but a playful invention, or the adoption of sounds not understood. The latter I suppose to be the case, yet "Tally-ho" is quite as appropriate to the huntsman as to the coach proprietor, meaning also as derivatives very little changed by adoption, "rally round me to charge." Taala ho, or Taala ho ya woled bouia, or ya Moumenini,—rally and charge, O sons of my father, or of true believers,—is the war cry of the Arabs, unchanged from the age they fought on the plains of Europe, and as unchangeable, it is probable, as their somewhat lengthy but beautiful watch cry of the camp, which in piety also has its claim to admiration, viz.,—"Ya Ek'Krim ya Ed Dime: Dime Allahou!" O Beneficent, O Eternal—Eternal thou art God.

Asiatic Empires on the Tigris, and the Euphrates, never did hold military possession of more than a few of the less elevated lands and the passes to the plains below.

The immense tract of territory over which the Tuaric tribes are scattered, spreads from the Atlantic to the parallel of nearly 12 degrees of longitude east of our meridian, and from the latitude of about 16 to 26 degrees north. This zone exceeds 1,600 miles in length, and is 600 broad. The features of this land, as we read in the accounts given by those who traversed a part of it on the journey to Bornou, varies greatly. Sand, indeed, is abundant, and in some places it rises in pyramidal hills of two or three hundred feet elevation or more, which are constantly drifting, impelled by the frequency of parching winds. These, by altering the features, of the country, render travelling more difficult. Where the sand does not cover the grounds extensive gravelly plains are seen, which are interspersed with wildernesses, adapted to a coarse pasturage. In these localities water is occasionally found, as well as the date palm, and that tree

which produces the finer quality of soluble gum, (the food also of the inhabitants), added to some other useful classes of vegetation. But not alone these features, for the country of the Tuarics, which from the number of Arabs douars (or encampments) in it, and the scattered state of the former people might be said to be Arab in many parts, contains extensive ranges of mountains, which, from the description given of them, are all, or nearly all connected with the Atlas. These chains penetrate deeply into the Sahra, and are stated to be mostly barren, devoid of springs as of inhabitants, like the Soda Atlas of Tripoli and Fezzan. Some, however, are the reverse of this and contain excellent springs, from which the waddeys flow down, that in general produce those spots in the places we call oases, low lands where water either rises to the surface or is within reach by digging wells. The mountains besides are of the greatest service as land marks, to the traveller, for these and the stars together are his only guides over those regions. Without the branches of the Atlas, it is hardly conceivable that the Sahra, or desert as we term it,

would be practicable for travellers, or habitable even for the Arab. Assuredly it could not contain the settled population we find in it. Yet some of the mountains being without those limits to which the wintry clouds extend from both seas, the valleys between shoot off occasional torrents to the plains, especially in those latitudes of the tropic to which the tornadoes reach, that usher in the rains. These parched plains then cast off their apparent sterility, especially where the waddeys flow and the earth becoming, as the Arabs term it, "Tell," or arable, it yields a rapid growth of productions, such as douhra, kassab, or barley chiefly. In certain parts the rush of these waddeys forms small lakes or ponds, which these people call maàten or stagnant. The African tornado, which brings this good to the plains of the more southerly regions of the Sahra, is described to blow invariably from an easterly direction, as in fact it also does in those countries of Soudan, which are better known by the name of Guinea. It is remarkable that the same wind, producing towards the end of its season that dry steady

gale, free from elementary convulsion, and called on the Gold Coast the "Harmattan," is life to animal matter (although blighting to vegetation in these low latitudes) and death to the traveller overtaken by it at any great distance from water, in the Sahra or higher latitudes. In the south too it is comparatively cool from its passage over or along those mountains, the extremity of which is visible on that part of the continent opposite Fernando Po, the Amboises of old maps, and the Cameroon or Rumby of new ones, mountains whose heights on the coast exceed 12,000 feet. In the north, the same wind is as the blast of a furnace; the sand hills are put in motion, and safety must depend upon available resources, or flight to a sheltered spot, where water may be obtained.* Such is the country of those mixed races called Tuarics.

* From experience of this wind, the Shume, (or Simoum, from the word Sim, or poison,) as the Arabs call it, the writer thinks that the Tuaric mode of dealing with it by sinking a hole for the body in the earth, if the water should not fail, is no bad expedient. He has tried the experiment in a natural ravine two or three feet high, and found the relief he needed after the loss of cattle, and after severe excoriations by the sand drift, when the tongue and mouth had lost all moisture.

The true Tuaric in feature, as in costume and habits, is clearly of a distinct race ; the nearest to him in resemblance is thought to be the Kurd, at least there is a characteristic wildness of the eye and gait, which alone suffices for a similarity. According to the belief expressed I think to Clapperton, by the Sultan Mohammed Bellou, the father of Ali, the present Sultan of the Filatahs, and ruler over the western Tuaric tribes, these people are but half human, or they are akin to genii, an opinion based upon the ferocity attributed to their character. The entrance of some of their tribes who may have been denied the passage through Egypt, is also said to have been at the ' Boghaz,' or Strait of the Arabian Gulf, which they traversed from Yaman, after conquering the whole, or the greater part of the southern districts of Arabia ; still this was but one emigration of these people, whereas tradition speaks of several, one of which was by the ordinary route of Suez, and the delta of the Nile, without reckoning their third or fourth emigration in the age of the Khalif Omar.

What seems certain from these accounts is,

that among early colonists came some tribes of these people out of Asia, by the way of Suez, whose course was through Canaan and the land of the Ammonites. Their numbers, including women and children, were formidable enough for great achievements, and their triumph over tribes who had preceded them was complete. They settled in an extensive portion of the Atlas, with or without the consent of the protective governments on the Nile or Euphrates. The name of this race, whether called Tuarics at that time or not, was a terror to certain tribes, who were the first settlers, and who came from upper Egypt or Nubia, Barbars or Berrabers and other. It would seem also, that the Tuaric race harmonised or united their arms in after ages with the Phœnecian and Phrygian colonists, who came by sea; and that they settled in peaceful enjoyment of their acquisition of a large portion of that chain of the Atlas, the eastern limit of which was about three days' journey from the cape whereon Carthage was afterwards built. These Kabayles would seem to have been a favoured people and perhaps the

chief reliance of the Carthagenians, hence their persecution by the Romans; at least they were a portion of the sinews of the republic, although, as may be traced through the writings of Polybius, the mercenaries in general, and the Kabayles in particular, too frequently contended with that state for local rights or pay, and often brought the government to the very verge of dissolution.*

* The city of Carthage erected but by sanction of the tribes of the Atlas and its plains, was a recognition of the independence those people well knew how to preserve, not only against Carthage, but against Rome, the Khalifat, and the Sherfa family who now rule the plains under the western Atlas. The tie that formed this link, then as now, between the chief government and the tribes, was the land adjacent to the mountains, where the Kabayles in peaceable times raised large crops of corn, and the cities of the strangers which afforded markets for their produce. It is difficult to conceive how Carthage was able to triumph over some of her embarrassments, and escape an earlier dissolution than that which happened at the close of the Punie wars. When in 315 B.C., Agathocles, King of Sicily, invaded the republic, the inactivity of the eastern tribes in the cause of its rulers, rendered the issue of the war more critical. From the same inactivity, it may be remembered Algiers sunk in the contest against France. To govern the Kabayles, so far as it can be called government, a peculiar tact is needful. And it seems that the Romans unqualified to do so, attempted, as the case may be now, their extermi-

Spain and the islands possessed by Carthage, were dependencies which that republic mainly owed to the vigour of the same tribes, Tuaric Kabayles among others. These also were the vanguard of that Hector of the Carthagenian state, who descended from the Alps into Italy, and who but for one error might have worked out other destinies for Rome than those which it

nation; producing in the end, the retirement of so many of the tribes, the Tuarics included, to the Sahara, and that to fill up the vacuum by a population they could rule, they introduced the Suevi or Zwoui from Europe, to defend the frontier of their Africa. One of those Emperors of Morocco, whose reign was long and whose government was perfectly consolidated, viz., Mulai Suleiman, attempted with a powerful army to coerce these Kabayles, and the result was, that he lost his son in the battle, his army was cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner, but dismissed unharmed, because as a descendant from the Sherfa (Sceriffe, or from the prophet) it would have been a sin to shed his blood. The prince returned disconsolate towards his capital, but refused, it is affirmed by some, to re-enter its walls. The blow he knew was fatal to his authority, and he died as it is called of a broken heart. In an earlier instance during the same reign, the Kabayles warned the Emperor to remove a Pacha, his own relation, who was obnoxious to them. This being neglected or refused, they cut off his head, and suspended it in the night under the alcove overlooking the walls of Fez, where the Emperor was in the practice of drinking tea.

was her fortune to enjoy, through the issue of the Punic or Fenek wars.

It was the closing scenes of the last of those slaughters, the general spoliation and burning of the city, its archives, and records of all sorts, the flight of the surviving Carthagenians from the plains to the Kabayle tribes, and the ferreting wars of the Roman legions along the lower mountains in pursuit of those fugitives, that begat a fierce contest between these Kabayles and the new lords of the country, seconded by their African allies of Numidia. Wearied in the end, but not defeated, it is said, many of the Kabayles, including a portion of the Tuarics, who were cut off from the plains by barriers or forts erected under their mountains, or in the gorges, then took a resolution to remove. The mass of Carthagenians emigrated with them, and all went to the south and colonized many parts both of the Sahra and the country beyond it. Carthage, in the meantime, we may presume, was portioned out by the Romans among the avaricious in the army or the state.

With these Carthagenians and Tuarics, it is

affirmed, several of the Canaanite tribes retired also, and this mixed population established by a second emigration the first germs of the nation which now passes under the name of Tuaric ; conquests in the Sahra and the emigration from Asia of more of their countrymen did the rest. It is not known if the Jewish tribes, their neighbours in the Atlas, at this time numerous, accompanied these Kabayles. It is thought that none of these people removed to the Sahra, but rather that they retired, if at all, to the Riff or the mountains of Suse. The Tuarics, who now became the dynastic race of all these tribes, waged a series of wars for many ages against the natives in possession of those lands, expelling the Gharammi from that part of the upper Sahra near Tuat, where they first formed their seat of government.

The Gharamani, or Garamantees, would seem to have become known to the Romans by name, from being a dynastic race or rulers over a confederacy of tribes like many others in Africa. It was the end of these wars that left the Tuaric dynasty undisputed masters of all the upper and

central parts of the Sahra — The Gharamani, defeated and despoiled, fled towards the east and north, and the descendants of people, of whom Europe had lost sight entirely since the days of Rome, still pasture their flocks and till those lands near the frontiers of Tunis and Tripoli, which spread from Zuagha or from Zerkis, opposite the island of Gerba to the bottom of the Gulf of Gabs or minor Syrtis Gulf; and from the sea to the waddey Lajal and the Gibbel Woseig of Ghadams. The Mezebbi, the Nuail, and the Seaan tribes, the neighbours of the former, are also said to have formed part of the emigration which quitted the Sahra on that occasion.

Some of those Tuarics—Tuarki, as some of the Kabayles pronounce it—who invaded Africa from the side of lower Egypt and Canaan, would seem to have come not long after Troy had sunk under the power of its enemies the Greeks. These people did not enter Africa alone, but as they were accompanied by many tribes or nations, if really the wreck of armies and survivors of populations who defended that city so long, it renders it the

more probable that these were the fugitives by land, whether Trojans or belonging to those allies of Troy, so many of whose princes had fallen in that war. That many Asiatic confederacies were dissolved through the conquest of the kingdom of Priam, there can hardly be a doubt, and if the dispersions in question carried some of the fugitive Trojans to countries besides Italy, whose populations lay claim to that descent, it does not seem improbable that those who could not avail themselves of ships would fly by land, as also that the Phrygians of the south and east in particular, Cilicians and Cappadocians would enter Africa or Arabia through the coasts of Phœnecia and Canaan.

As before observed, the pronunciation of the Kabayles of some of the Atlas seems to approach in sound nearer to Tuacri (Tucris?) than Tuaric, but whether this family, or any part of the emigrations which brought them by land to Africa, may have consisted of purely Trojan fugitives, I leave to abler reasoners to decide; nor should I have introduced these tribes except for the reason of their coming from or through the ancient patrimony of the Kabayles

in Canaan, and inhabiting at this time a land common to many of the true Canaanite race, who also retired from the Atlas to the Sahra in order to escape the various rulers of the plains, but particularly the Romans ; it was the affinity which determined their selection.

The Canaanites, who claim a pure descent in the Sahra, are portions of tribes who inhabit the Atlas still, and preserve their patriarchal names as well as race. Among these mention is made of the Hittati, Amelki, Itgari, Retbi, Zerari, and Zouneti, who retired principally from the western Atlas, where the heads of these tribes still remain. These tribes, however, form but a very small portion of the race of Canaan within the Sahra, with whom the mixed Tuarics claim relationship, and live in a social and political compact, as related by all travellers.

The Tuarics are now the nominal or actual subjects of various states surrounding the vast territory called their country, viz., of the sultans of Arab populations on the Senegal, of the Kings of Bambara, of Fezzan, Tripoli,—Tunis sharing some influence also. But the principal power

to which by right they owe allegiance, since this supremacy has departed from the Sherfa family of Morocco nearly two centuries, and who claims the entire control over these people, is the Filatah Sultan, as before mentioned ; and Timbuctoo, the capital of Azawat, a pachalic of this monarch, is properly the seat of the Tuaric government. Formerly, indeed, the Tuarics and all the Kabayle and Arab tribes of the Sahra, as low down probably as the latitude of Cape Blanco, and as far inland as the easternmost frontier of Tuat, were tributary to some of the sovereigns of Morocco. It was the loss of this power and influence in the south and east, through one of those devastating wars for the succession which so frequently create a protracted anarchy and depopulation in these countries, that prompted the Emperor Ismaël of Morocco, as before mentioned, to attempt to recover it, doubtless from the Filatah Sultan, his cotemporary, a century and a half ago. The Kabayles of Morocco having submitted, and being disarmed, Ismael had little to fear in his absence. This Emperor, however, was only

successful for a term, and that seems to have ended with his life, when new convulsions happened to the state, and the Sahra and its tribes fell off entirely. This control has passed from north to south, for it is now the Filatah monarchs who claim the exclusive right of sovereignty over the Sahra to a considerable extent ; and the conquest of Timbuctoo, which is of recent date, confirms the Filatah title, as Tuat, in other times the Maroqueen metropolis of the Sahra and its tribes, confirmed those possessions to the Emperors who preceded Ismaël.

A paper which was read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, in May last by Mr. J. J. Hutchinson, the surgeon to the Tchadda Expedition, speaks otherwise of the origin of the Tuarics, and apparently as if they were still a pure or unmixed race. As if also but one invasion of these Asiatics had occurred in Africa. He says also that "The Bedwins of the desert, the Tauricks and the pastoral Foulahs over Africa are of the same descent."

That there is a mistake in this would seem to be the case if the accounts of the north side

of the Sahra can be relied on, concerning a people who once resided there, and who still visit the countries of the Atlas. It is certain that the nations of those mountains do not recognise affinity, at least to the extent set forth. The Bedwin of the desert too, descended from the stock of the Foulah and the Tuaric must surely seem strange to the reader, if he has been taught to consider the first named to imply a dweller in tents, a son of Ismael, whether living on the Arabian or the African borders.

As to the Tuaric and Foulah kindredship, it is so far reconcilable between the countries of the north and south, that both admit the coming of these natives out of that land which once contained the Canaanite family. The difference however is, that the Tuaric, although he might have settled for a term among those Orientals, did not belong to the true race of Canaan.

That both Tuaric and Foulah did enter Africa when the Arabs came in the seventh century as Mr. Hutchinson relates, is strictly true according to the Oriental accounts. This intermixture of auxiliaries procured the distinguishing name

of Sharakin, or Mosharakin, i.e., Saracens, eastern people or Asiatics. The Kabayles of the Atlas who so readily joined the Prophet's standard when carried into Europe, although called in Christendom, like their eastern brethren, were really Magharbin westerns or Africans. The earlier emigrations of these people from Asia do not seem to have been known to the informers of this traveller, yet he admits that some people consider the Tuarics are descendants of the Carthagenians.

That the pure Tuarics were once Kabayles of the Atlas no doubt is entertained among the tribes, north of the Sahra ; the kindredship still preserved between them adds confirmation to it. It cannot cause surprise that the habits they have adopted in the Sahra, as indispensable, to existence on those plains, are in direct opposition to the habits of the mountain tribes, or the habits of their ancestors when living in those mountains.

The mixed Tuaric races are occasioned by many inroads of the Asiatics, added to the frequent expulsion or retirement of tribes and

families from the upper coast and mountains of the Atlas,* as doubtless also similar events along the southern borders of this nation have contributed to people the Tuaric lands with other races, either Asiatic or Ethiopic. The coming of other tribes of the Tuarics along with the Arabs whose ancestors had probably settled in Arabia, filled, it is said, that vast extension of country with both nations, uniting all by a common faith.

* Two uncles of the present Emperor of Morocco took refuge in the Sahra, with many thousand followers, about the year 1798, after eight or nine years contention for the succession; the waste lands became peopled for a time, till all had dispersed or died off. The northern and central parts of the Sahra are again thickly peopled; during the last quarter of a century the influx of mountain tribes, as well as inhabitants of the plains of Algiers, the natural effect of French invasion, has been constant. These were the auxiliaries who waited, and may be still waiting a signal from the Emperor of Morocco, to renew their efforts on the Algerine frontier. This Prince, however, is too wise to listen to appeals which could bring no certain good to him; and too observant of treaties to break the faith he has pledged.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROMISCUOUS TRIBES OF THE WEST.

Resemblance of these tribes to the Arabs—The Graggi—Intermarriage of the tribe of Benjamin with the daughters of Shiloh—The Amrani—Character of their country—The Yacobi—The Frashi—The Amelki—The Zekhri—The Zimrani—The Zarwolli—The Azwaghi—The Meeli—The Motaai.

THESE Kabayles, who considerably outnumber the population of Arabian descent, are spread over most of the plains, in the southern and central provinces of the empire of Morocco. In some instances, not only the habits and dress of these people have been changed, but their language also, and many of them being dwellers in tents like the Arab, they might claim a kin-

dred with that nation, were it not that both races are probably the strictest observers of genealogy of all mankind. Yet in appearance, the difference is perceptible enough; the large and lustrous eye of the Arab, and the fullness of beard, the high forehead, and oval countenance, are not commonly to be found among the descendants of Kabayles, whose eyes are characteristically small, although in general black, and whose beards are often scanty, some having scarcely more than a small tuft at the extremity of the chin. Some indeed have the grey or blue eye, and sandy, or even reddish hair; but this I have only noticed among the mixed tribes, or such as are known to have belonged to those parts of the Atlas, whose plains at least were in the occupation of the Romans, a people who indeed are thought to have introduced those strangers from Europe, especially the Zwoui.

We do not attempt to speak of all the Kabayles who dwell on those plains, nor does the author claim such knowledge. Numerous as these tribes are, among those whose names are familiar to him, the selection is made but of the

few whose connexion with, or pretension to a descent, from the old tribes of Canaan, seems to be undisputed, but who are believed to have figured in the arena of Africa otherwise than in a contracted, or subordinate sphere, or as portions of distinct confederacies from whom they have become detached. Different from those who established a dominion over the land, these seem to have left no dynastic name as rulers over other tribes, although many of them are of kin to the ancient races whose claim to entrance at the pass of Egypt has been shewn.

GRAGGI, OR ITE GRAGGA.

THIS tribe inhabits a part of that plain, in the south of Morocco, (the province of Shiedma,) which some ages back was strictly a Kabayle possession, like the sister land of Haha, where none but the Kabayle language is spoken, unless by educated men.

The Graggi are of the Shiloh stock, of whom mention has been made. It may further be described, that the very remarkable event in sacred history which refers to the intermarriage of the

wreck of the tribe of Benjamin with the daughters of Shiloh, entails upon these people apparently that degree of affinity with the Jews, which may account for the domesticity between the respective people in certain districts of Suse, which has also been mentioned. For the Jews entreated that "the Shiloh would be favourable to their brethren."

"Behold there is a feast of the Lord in Shiloh, &c.

"And if the daughters of Shiloh come out to dance then catch you every man his wife of the daughters of Shiloh and go to the land of Benjamin. Judges xxi. 19, 21, 22.

Although still considered to form part of the Kabayle lands, Shiedma is peopled also with many tribes, both of Arabian and Jewish descent, all being followers of the prophet in this age. The Graggi, still called Ite Gragga by the other Kabayles, cultivate a portion of those plains which are distant from the nearest point of the Atlas behind the city of Morocco about ninety miles; and from the mouth of the waddey Tensift, which river flows by that metropolis, watering these

plains with its tributaries, thirty miles. The Tensift forms the northern boundary both of Shiedma and the province of Rahamna. The soil is exceedingly productive in corn, but except in a district named Akermout, where the fig abounds, both provinces are nearly bare of trees and shrubs of all kinds, and some of the wells exceed the depth of 100 feet. Shiedma has the Gibbel Heddid, a branch of the Atlas on the north.

AMRANI OR AMBRANI.

This tribe, which has already been incidentally spoken of, is settled on the plain of Abda, north of the Tensift, and eastward of the town of Saffi. They are the neighbours of the Megare, and the Ferrashi, other Kabayle tribes of some celebrity, and their lands stretch as far as the borders of the province of Seraghna. These people, united with other tribes both of Duquella and Shawiah, were able to form a confederacy which became too powerful for the state. They were the chief movers during an interregnum, while the succession was disputed, in supporting the claim of

their Pacha Abderahman, to an independent position, which lasted the period of his existence, notwithstanding the country had settled down in peace, after a long and sanguinary war among the princes, and Mulai Suleiman, who vainly strove by arms to enforce submission, had been proclaimed Emperor. This occurred about the beginning of the present century. After various trials, the resistance of the tribes wherein the Amrani took a leading part, was so effectual that the sovereign of the country was constrained to enter into a sort of treaty with Abderahman, by which he had the mortification to recognise an usurper of his lawful authority, at about 150 miles distance from his two capitals, Fez and Morocco. Other competitors for this throne of Imperial descent had either fallen in those wars, or been driven among the fallen dynasties of the Sahra, together with their followers, never to return.

This country also consists of wide spreading plains, destitute, or nearly so, of trees ; but the land, of which many parts is a deep red mould, yields some of the richest pasture in these parts.

In the spring of the year, some spots indeed are beautiful to behold, for the ground appears to be so perfectly enamelled with flowers of every hue, blended with the ordinary verdure, that the confused intermixture of colours, in what we call the Turkey carpet, is no unfit comparison. Indeed some of the inhabitants of these countries who manufacture the same sort of fabric, claim, as they may well do, to have borrowed the models as well as the tints from their fields.

The Amrani, it is said, were true believers in the age of Solomon, i.e., according to the Moslems, whose creed they now profess, they were of that faith which prevailed in the time both of David and Solomon, or before the separation of the tribes of Israel, to which the followers of the Arabian prophet ascribe purity, because the Rabbies they say had not then corrupted or altered the law to what it became afterwards, or to what we behold of the rituals practised by the Jews in our own time.

As these Kabayles form a part of those who emigrated from the same country as the tribes of Canaan, and as numerous other tribes of these

provinces, as well as of the Atlas, are also known to have professed the Jewish faith, it is open to conjecture that they may be the descendants of those servants of Solomon mentioned in the Scriptures by the name of Amramites, who were employed in the service of the Temple—1 Chron. xxvi. 23.

YACOBI, OR WOLED YACOB.

THE Yacobi, or children of Jacob, is another Kabayle tribe, descended from the Jews. They cultivate the lands of Shawiah, which border the waddey Morbeyah, a fine stream that flows down from the Atlas, and joins the Atlantic at the town of Azamour. Another branch of this tribe inhabit the plains of Temsna, and both, besides being cultivators of those lands, are great breeders of cattle and sheep, of which they possess innumerable herds. It is partly from these lands and those of the upper course of the Morbeyah, which flows through Tedla and Temsna, that the garrison and fleet at Gibraltar draw much of the supply they receive of live stock. Arab tribes are also numerous in the

more central parts of these broad plains, whose sameness is wearisome to the eye of the European traveller, although the sons of Ismael rejoice in the level surface, where it is of the productive character described, for besides what is taken into cultivation, these lands afford space for extensive pasturage.

Whether the Yacobi belong to that class called by the Arabs the first propagators of the word of God, or of Islam, viz., whether they were Jews, true observers of the covenant, or proselytes of that faith before the Babylonian captivity, and the corruption of the law, are points I am unable to answer. Certain, however, it seems, if we should credit native authority, that the emigrations into Africa of the Ben Israëli occurred at various times, all but the first resulting from the effect they describe of disobedience to the word of God, such as contentions and civil war; idolatry and disbelief producing the afflictions endured from the nations around Judea, captivity of the tribes by the Babylonians, and the total destruction of their city and temple by the Romans. The first

entrance of the Israelites, it is added, happened in the age of Solomon, when the law was, as it is termed, “wassa,” or expansive and propagatory among idolators, other emigrations, when it had become “deaka” or “fesda,”—contracted or corrupted. By this it would appear that the earliest arrival of these tribes, or of their proselytes, happened nearly twenty-nine centuries ago, about which time, according to some accounts, the laws of Moses were carried to China by Jewish settlers; so it is usually maintained by the Arabs, the same law was carried both to Arabia and Ethiopia by propagandists or colonists, after the visit of Queen Sheba; thus accounting for the descendants of those Jews who are said to inhabit Abyssinia or the plains and mountains of the Shingalla. Then the law was pure say these people, but the corruptions of Judea, which the prophets themselves denounced, gradually spread and infected it. “And all the kings of Arabia and governors of the country brought gold and silver to Solomon.”—2 Chronicles, x., 14.

FRASHI.

This is a tribe of Kabayles who cultivate the lands on the charming banks south of the Morbeyah, in that extensive province of Duquella which is unrivalled in the empire for its productions, principally of corn, but whose wells are of such depth as frequently to require two camels to draw a skin of water. None of the provinces spoken of on this side contain the palm, and rarely the olive, those two trees which claim the first consideration in the estimation of all, from the nourishment their fruits afford: nor are the fig, the almond, chesnut, and sweet acorn, which support principally the tribes of the Atlas, to be often met with (unless in the orchards of the towns) on the whole journey through these plains from Morocco, or from Haha to Tetuan and Tangier.

The Frashi are a branch tribe of the Kabayle family, who bear the same name, and who inhabit the borders of the Jerrid in the dominion of Tunis. These of Morocco are a people of considerable note among both Arabs and Kabayles, and another portion of their tribe being settled

in the mountains above Tedla, the celebrity they enjoy is unquestionably the offspring of many daring acts wherein they have set at defiance the rulers of the empire. Associated with other confederates, the Zonniti, Miskini, Messeli, besides Arabs and their mountain allies, they have not scrupled to await the imperial forces and give battle on the plains, in one of which, as mentioned in another place, the Emperor Mulai Suleiman lost his son, his army, and his throne, and died of grief. These are also said to be of the Canaanite emigrations.

AMELKI, OR IT'AMELK.

This tribe inhabits the plains of Temsna, and is considered to be one of the superior order among the Kabayles. The Amelki are also supposed to be of kin to a people of the same name in the Atlas of Tunis, which overlook the plains of Constantine. Those of Morocco having for their neighbours the Zemouri and some others, are all said to be descendants of the expelled tribes of Canaan, or of emigrations from that country or its borders. Neither are the Amelki

spoken of as having established any dynastic rule over the country ; yet as a tribe they are formidable, and possess a great extent of land. If they be the posterity, as supposed, of the race descended from Amalek, the son of Ham, who first opposed the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, and fought against them so soon after crossing the Red Sea, it would appear that unlike some of the nations who fled before the sword of Joshua, and prospered again in distant places, these were never able to establish dominion over others.

Yet the words of the Scriptures indicate that this nation was destroyed. "Joshua," by the command of Moses, gave battle and discomfited Amalek and his people in Rephidim. Again,—and the Lord said unto Moses—" I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under the heaven." Therefore Moses built the altar of Jehovah-nissi, because the Lord hath sworn, that " he will have war with Amalek from generation to generation."—Exod. xvii. 8 to 15.

The lands of these Kabayles skirt that district which is called the Gharb proper. On leaving

those plains to the south which spread inland of or behind Dar el Beida, Fidallah, and Salle, the land partakes of forest, a great portion of which is a dwarf kind of oak, intermixed with other timber trees, and these cover the soil as far north as Marmora, on the southern bank of the fine waddy Sebou, which runs from the Atlas above Fez, and passes through that city, discharging itself in the sea, at the distance of 125 miles south of Tangier or Tetuan.

The Sebou river which, like the rest, frequently inundates the plains to a wide extent in these seasons for rain, is also fed in summer by the melting of the snow on the mountains, which preserves a supply of water adequate to its navigation by boats far inland during those months, when the land is parched by the summer heat, and verdure of all kinds, trees excepted, has disappeared.

ZEKHRI, ZIMRANI, ZARWOLLI, AZWAGHI,
MESLI, MOTAAI.

My limits will only allow of a general classification of these six tribes, all of them, like the former Kabayles, who, as emigrants, entered

Africa from the side of Asia, and belong, it is thought, either to the Canaanite family or to the old Kabyle confederacies, Riffi or Tuaric, the latter of which however principally inhabited the mountains eastward of Tlemsen, lands occupied now by tribes of Zwoui, Hunni, Nearidi, Nememshi, and some other strangers to the former tribes who are supposed to have been introduced by the Romans and Vandals from the southern extremities of Europe, Andalusia, and Calabria. The countries inhabited by most of these tribes, who rank among the northern Kabayles of the Gharb or that part of the west of Africa which leans upon the Mediterranean as well as the Atlantic, are undulating and hilly, or mountainous in some plains, not unlike parts of the north of Wales, as observers from the sea may have noticed in coasting along those openings, or valleys and headlands which extend from the environs of Tetuan to the territories of the tribe called Beni Znassel, where the Melouia, or "Serpentine river" discharges itself into the Gulf of Melillah.

CHAPTER XV.

TRIBES OF THE CENTRAL PLAINS OF THE ATLAS.

The Aradi—Results of the investigation of Egyptian
Antiquities—The Kenezi—The Theni.

ARADI.

By this name the memory of a race of people is still presented, who entered Egypt from Canaan in the earliest age, and were either assigned possessions in Africa by one of the remote dynasties of the Pharoah princes, or, like some of the great invading nations these also had power sufficient to carve out destinies for themselves, unfettered by authorities on the Nile. The Aradi, resembling the Friki, Riffi, and so many other absorbed or dis-

persed races whose names still belong to the soil, settled under those mountains called Matmata which, springing from the Gibbel of the middle Atlas, separate the south of Tunis from a portion of her dependencies in the Jerrid, a country the eastern part of which before the entrance of the Arabs, is said to have borne but one name as far as the entrance to the sea of Gabs, or the minor Syrtis Gulf, and that name was Thineyah, or the land of the Thini (Thinites), people who were also the neighbours of another maritime tribe called the Kinei or Kenaisi (Kenezites), as well as the Aradi, who spread themselves over the inland districts and built many towns both on the plains of the Matmata and Fasattou mountains, and in the western or interior parts of the same country now known as the Jerrid, or Bled el Jerrid.

These occupations of the land would seem to press very close upon what is understood to be a settled chronology in Europe, and this might form a consideration apart if space permitted. I can only briefly submit that the chronology in question sets no limit resembling our own to the records or traditions of the

generations of Orientals among whom these traditions are preserved. A new light indeed is said to be diffusing itself in Europe, through the medium of Egyptian antiquities, and by the investigation of such learned authorities as the Chevalier Bunsen and the Professors Lepsius and Böckh. Apparently the reasoning on dates relative to the building of Memphis, and on the thirty dynasties of Manetho, the Egyptian priest spoken of by Josephus, if applied to some of the early events contended for by natives of countries westward of the Nile, would at least be found to harmonize better with their conceptions of a past than with a chronology which we have been bold enough to compile in figures, and apply to history, sacred not excepted.

The Aradi on coming to the plains of the central Atlas would thus seem to have become the neighbours of the Thini and the Kenaisi, the former of whom had at least preceded them. The memory of these races, who were distinct, still attaches to the possessions they once enjoyed : the country of El Arad spreads from the southern branch of the Gibbeliana mountains in Tunis, to the lands of the Nememsha, and Nouail tribes

on one side, and those of the Gharammi, Sceàn, and some frontier tribes of Tripoli on the other.

The descent both of the Aradi and Kenaisi from the Canaanites is not disputed ; it is probable, too, from their entrance into Egypt through the borders of that country. From the Bible we learn that a King of the Canaanites of the south was named Arad ; but these fought against Israel, and were destroyed together with their cities ; and unless we should suppose, that some of the subjects of King Arad had survived the overthrow at Hormah, it is difficult to identify this race in Africa. It must be thought then either that their destruction was not entire, but confined to the army engaged with the Israelites, or that their colonization of a part of Africa, which directly faced their patrimony in Asia, was an event anterior to that resistance offered to the Israelites, which happened according to Biblical authority fourteen centuries before Christ. Numbers xxi. That a people should be called after the name of their King conveys nothing surprising. In ancient as in modern times, the practice was and is a com-

mon one, both the Tucri or Trojans and the Osmanli or Turks are examples.

Both the Aradi and the Zwari of the west of Tripoli are said to have ravaged several of the western countries, and the latter tribes may then have become scattered, as we perceive they are both in the mountains of Algiers and in those of Morocco.

KENAI SI OR KENEZI.

These people occupied a portion of the northern banks of the Gulf of Syrtis where they built a town, in a very remarkable position opposite a nest of little islands, which also bear the name of the same tribe, and whereon they erected many edifices, whose ruins it can only be said are still discernable, upon the soil. Some of the Kenaisi are thought to have been followers of the laws of Moses on their coming into Africa. But other of the tribes were of earlier emigration; the evidence seems to shew that they were the people whose doom was cast when the Lord made a covenant with Abraham; for the Kenites and Kenizzites, as well as the Rephaims, were included. Gen. xv. 18, 19.

THENI.

The supposed antiquity of these people is very great. Their entrance into Africa from the side of Egypt is nearly all that is known of a race who, if some accounts may be relied upon, are of Ethiopic extraction, or the same as the family of Menes the Thinite of upper Egypt, which, as we read, founded Memphis, and is said to have begun the true history of the Egyptians. Thenia, a city erected by these people, is now but a mass of ruins crumbling into fragments, but the porphery and variegated marble mixed with these relics denote that the city was of some consideration. It stood on a little bay amidst an amphitheatre of small hills, which command the entrance into this Syrtis, and it seems evident on inspection that this was a military station, when that coast was under the control of Egypt. Now the place is desolate, or frequented occasionally but by a few fishermen and roving Bedwins; for the banks which commence above the Kerkiny islands sweep half round this gulf, and thus the fishery extends nearly 150 miles along those shores.

THE END.

